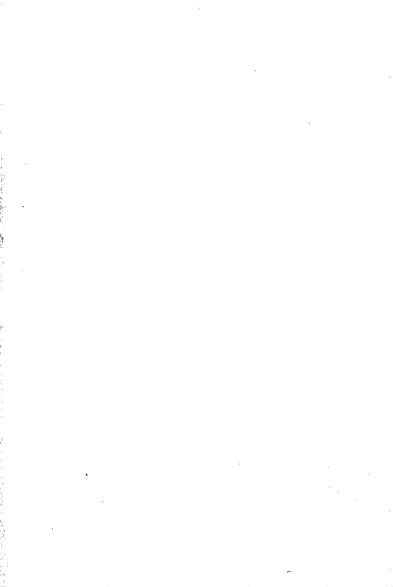
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#### DIODORUS OF SICILY

VI

#### WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

IN TWELVE VOLUMES



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#### MANUSCRIPTS

THE MSS, continue to be those listed in Volume IV, p. 112, as they are designated in the second volume of the edition of Vogel-Fischer, upon which the present text is based. The critical notes make no effort to present the substance of the apparatus criticus of the Vogel-Fischer edition, but are confined to divergences from the Vogel-Fischer text, and to the most important emendations and suggestions by scholars, especially those of Dindorf. The reading which is preceded by a colon is, unless otherwise stated, that of the textus receptus.

# THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XIV

## Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῆ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων

Κατάλυσις εν 'Αθήναις της δημοκρατίας και κατάστασις ανδρών τριάκοντα.

Παρανομία των τριάκοντα άνδρων είς τοὺς πολίτας.

'Ως Διονύσιος ο τύραννος ἀκρόπολιν κατασκευάσας διεμέρισε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς πλήθεσιν.

'Ως Διονύσιος παραλυομένην την τυραννίδα παραδόξως αὐτην ἀνεκτήσατο.

'Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι διώκησαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Έλλάδα.

' Αλκιβιάδου θάνατος, καὶ Κλεάρχου τοῦ Λάκωνος τυραννὶς ἐν Βυζαντίφ καὶ κατάλυσις.

'Ως Λύσανδρος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπιβαλόμενος καταλῦσαι τοὺς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀπέτυχεν.

'Ως Διονύσιος Κατάνην μεν και Νάξον εξηνδραποδίσατο, Λεοντίνους δε μετώκισεν εις Συρακούσας.

Κτίσις 'Αλαίσης ἐν τῆ Σικελία.

Λακεδαιμονίων πρός 'Ηλείους πόλεμος.

 $\Omega$ s Διονύσιος τὸ πρὸς τοῖς Έξαπύλοις τεῖχος κατεσκεύασεν.

## CONTENTS OF THE FOURTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

The overthrow of the democracy in Athens and the establishment of the thirty men (chaps. 3-4).

The lawless conduct of the thirty men toward the

citizens (chaps. 5-6).

How the tyrant Dionysius prepared a citadel and distributed the city and its territory among the masses (chap. 7).

How Dionysius, to the amazement of all, recovered

his tyranny when it was collapsing (chaps. 8-9).

How the Lacedaemonians managed conditions in

Greece (chap. 10).

The death of Alcibiades, and the tyranny of Clearchus the Lacedaemonian in Byzantium and its overthrow (chaps. 11-12).

How Lysander the Lacedaemonian undertook to overthrow the descendants of Heracles and was

unsuccessful (chap. 13).

How Dionysius sold into slavery Catanê and Naxos and transplanted the inhabitants of Leontini to Syracuse (chaps. 14-15).

The founding of Halaesa in Sicily (chap. 16).

The war between the Lacedaemonians and the Eleians (chap. 17).

How Dionysius constructed the wall at the Hexapyli (chap. 18).

Ως Κύρος στρατεύσας έπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνηρέθη.

'Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίων "Ελλησιν ἐβοήθησαν.

Κτίσις 'Αδρανοῦ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, καὶ Σωκράτους τοῦ φιλοσόφου θάνατος.

Κατασκευή τοῦ περὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον τείχους.

Παρασκευή Διονυσίου πρός του Καρχηδουιακου πόλεμου καὶ ὁπλοποιία, καθ' ἡν εδρε το καταπελτικου βέλος.

'Ως Καρχηδονίοις καὶ Διουυσίφ πόλεμος ἐνέστη.

'Ως Διονύσιος Μοτύην πόλιν ἐπίσημον Καρχηδονίων ἐξεπολιόρκησεν.

'Ως Αἰγεσταῖοι τὴν Διονυσίου παρεμβολὴν ἐνέπρησαν.

'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι τριάκοντα μυριάσι διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐπολέμουν πρὸς Διονύσιον.

Διονυσίου ἀποχώρησις είς τὰς Συρακούσας.

Καρχηδονίων στρατεία έπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, καὶ ἄλωσις τῆς Μεσσήνης.

Ναυμαχία Καρχηδονίων πρός Διονύσιον μεγάλη καὶ νίκη Καρχηδονίων.

Σύλησις τῶν ναῶν τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων.

Κόλασις ἐκ θεῶν τῶν ἱεροσίλων, καὶ φθορὰ τῆς Καρχηδονίων δυνάμεως ὑπὸ νόσου λοιμικῆς.

Ναυμαχία Συρακοσίων πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ νίκη Συρακοσίων.

So Wesseling: πόλεμον.

#### BOOK XIV

How Cyrus led an army against his brother and was slain (chaps. 19-31).

How the Lacedaemonians came to the aid of the

Greeks of Asia (chaps. 35-36).

The founding of Adranum in Sicily and the death of Socrates the philosopher (chap. 37).

The construction of the wall on the Chersonesus

(chap. 38).

The preparations made by Dionysius for the war against the Carthaginians and his manufacture of arms, in connection with which he invented the missile hurled by a catapult (chaps. 41-44).

How war broke out between the Carthaginians and

Dionysius (chaps. 45-47).

How Dionysius reduced by siege Motyê, a notable city of the Carthaginians (chaps. 48-53).

How the Aegestaeans set fire to the camp of

Dionysius (chap. 54).

How the Carthaginians crossed over to Sicily with three hundred thousand soldiers and made war upon Dionysius (chap. 55).

The retreat of Dionysius to Syracuse (chap. 55).

The Carthaginian expedition to the Straits and

the capture of Messenê (chaps. 56-58).

The great sea-battle between the Carthaginians and Dionysius and the victory of the Carthaginians (chaps. 59-62).

The plundering by the Carthaginians of the temples

of both Demeter and Corê (chap. 63).

The retribution by the gods upon the plunderers of the temples and the destruction of the Carthaginian host by a pestilence (chaps. 63, 70-71).

The sea-battle between the Syracusans and the Carthaginians and the victory of the Syracusans (chap. 64).

Δημηγορία Θεοδώρου περί της έλευθερίας.

'Ως Διονύσιος τοὺς ταραχωδεστάτους χιλίους μισθοφόρους καταστρατηγήσας ἐποίησε κατακοπῆναι.

ως Διονύσιος τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν

Καρχηδονίων ἐπολιόρκησεν.

'Ως Διονύσιος ἐκπολιορκήσας Καρχηδονίους πολλάς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἐνέπρησεν.

Καρχηδονίων ήττα κατὰ γῆν ἄμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Δρασμὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων νυκτὸς Διονυσίου συνεργήσαντος λάθρα τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τετρακοσίοις ταλάντοις.

Τὰ συμβάντα Καρχηδονίοις δυσχερῆ διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσέβειαν.

Συνοικισμός τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἀναστάτων γεγενημένων πόλεων.

'Ως Διονύσιος τῶν Σικελικῶν πόλεων ἃς μὲν ἐξεπολιόρκησεν, ἃς δ' εἰς συμμαχίαν προσηγάγετο.

'Ως προς τους δυνάστας "Αγυρίν τε τον 'Αγυρηναίον

καὶ Νικόδημον τὸν Κεντοριπίνον φιλίαν συνέθετο.

 $\Omega_s$  'Αγησίλαος ὁ Σπαρτιατών βασιλεῖς μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν διέβη καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Πέρσας τεταγμένην χώραν ἐπόρθησεν.

'Ως 'Αγησίλαος ἐιίκησε μάχη τοὺς Πέρσας ἡγουμένου

Φαρναβάζου.

Περὶ τοῦ Βοιωτικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν αὐτῷ.

'Ως Κόνων ὑπὸ Περσῶν κατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν 'Αθηναίων ἀνφκοδόμησεν.

1 So Vogel: δόλος.

a Damon in Diodorus' text.

#### BOOK XIV

The speech in the assembly on freedom by Theo-

dorus (chaps. 65-69).

How Dionysius outgeneralled the thousand most turbulent mercenaries of his and caused them to be massacred (chap. 72).

How Dionysius laid siege to the outposts and camp

of the Carthaginians (chap. 72).

How Dionysius reduced the Carthaginians by siege and set fire to many ships of the enemy (chap. 73).

The defeat of the Carthaginians by land and also

by sea (chap. 74).

The flight of the Carthaginians by night, Dionysius having co-operated with them without the knowledge of the Syracusans for a bribe of four hundred talents (chap. 75).

The difficulties which befell the Carthaginians because of their impiety against the deity (chaps.

76-77).

The merging of the cities of Sicily which had been

laid waste (chap. 78).

How Dionysius reduced by siege certain of the cities of Sicily and brought others into an alliance (chap. 78).

How he established relations of friendship with the rulers Agyris of Agyrium and Nicodemus<sup>a</sup> of Centuripae (chap. 78).

How Agesilaus, the Spartan king, crossed over into Asia with an army and laid waste the territory which

was subject to the Persians (chap. 79).

How Agesilaüs defeated in battle the Persians, who were commanded by Pharnabazus (chap. 80).

On the Boeotian War and the actions comprised in

it (chap. 81).

How Conon was appointed general by the Persians and rebuilt the walls of the Athenians (chaps. 81, 85).

'Ως περὶ Κόρινθον Λακεδαιμόνιοι Βοιωτοὶ'ς ἐνίκησαν καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οδτος ἐκλήθη Κορινθιακός.

'Ως Διονήσιος μετὰ πολλών κινδύνων παρεισπεσών είς τὸ Ταυρομένιον εξέπεσεν.

'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ πόλιν Βάκαιναν ήττήθησαν ὑπο Διονυσίου.

Στρατεία Καρχηδονίων εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ κατάλιντις τοῦ πολέμου.

'Ως Θίβρος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὢν στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Περσών ἡττηθεὶς ἀνηρέθη.

'Ως Διονύσιος 'Ρήγιον ἐπολιόρκησεν.

'Ως οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν "Ελληνες εἰς μίαν πολιτείαν συστάντες ἀντετάξαντο πρὸς Διονύσιον.

'Ως Διονύσιος νικήσας τη μάχη καὶ μυρίους αἰχμαλώτους λαβών, ἀπέλυσεν ἄνευ λύτρων καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτονομεῖσθαι συνεχώρησεν.

Καυλωνίας καὶ Ἱππωνίου ἄλωσις καὶ καταιτκαφή καὶ μετοίκησις εἰς Συρακούσας.

'Ως οἱ "Ελληνες πρὸς 'Αρταξέρξην εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο τὴν 'Ανταλκίδου.

·Ρηγίου άλωσις καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀτυχήματα.

"Αλωσις 'Ρώμης ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου.

#### BOOK XIV

How the Lacedaemonians defeated the Boeotians near Corinth and this war was called the Corinthian (chap. 86).

How Dionysius forced his way with much fighting into Tauromenium and then was driven out (chaps.

87-88).

How the Carthaginians were defeated near the city of Bacacna a by Dionysius (chap. 90).

The expedition of the Carthaginians to Sicily and

the settlement of the war (chaps. 95-96).

How Thibrus,<sup>b</sup> the Lacedaemonian general, was defeated by the Persians and slain (chap. 99).

How Dionysius laid siege to Rhegium (chaps. 108,

111).

How the Greeks of Italy joined to form a single political group and took the field against Dionysius

(chap. 103).

How Dionysius, although he had been victorious in battle and had taken ten thousand prisoners, let them go without requiring ransom and allowed the cities to live under their own laws (chap. 105).

The capture and razing of Caulonia and Hipponium and the removal of their inhabitants to Syracuse

(chaps. 106-107).

How the Greeks concluded the Peace of Antalcidas

with Artaxerxes (chap. 110).

The capture of Rhegium and the disasters suffered

by the city (chaps. 111-112).

The capture of Rome, except for the Capitoline, by the Gauls (chaps. 114-117).

Abacaenê in Diodorus' text.
 Thibron in Diodorus' text.

#### ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

#### τοτ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

#### ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΕΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Πάντας μέν ἴσως εἰκός ἐστι προσάντως άκούειν τὰς καθ' ξαυτών βλασφημίας καὶ γὰρ οί κατά πῶν ἔκδηλον ἔχοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν κακίαν ώστε μηδ' εξαρνεῖσθαι, όμως ψόγου τυγχάνοντες διαγανακτοθοι καὶ λόγους εἰσφέρειν πειρώνται πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν. διόπερ εὐλαβητέον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὸ πράττειν τι φαθλον πᾶσι, μάλιστα μέντοι τοῖς ήγεμονίας ορεγομένοις ή τινος επισήμου τύχης 2 μεταλαβοῦσιν δ γὰρ τούτων βίος περίοπτος ὢν διά την επιφάνειαν εν πασιν άδυνατει κρύπτειν την ιδίαν άγνοιαν. ώστε μηδείς έλπιζέτω των τυχόντων ύπεροχης τινος, αν έξαμαρτάνη μεγάλα, λήσεσθαι διὰ τέλους ἀνεπιτίμητος. καὶ γὰρ ὰν ἐν τῷ καθ' έαυτον βίω διαφύγη τον από της επιτιμήσεως λόγον, ΰστερον ήξειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν προσδεχέσθω τὴν άλήθειαν μετά παρρησίας κηρύττουσαν τὰ πάλαι 3 σιωπώμενα. χαλεπόν οὖν τοῖς φαύλοις τοῦ παντός 1 μέντοι Eichstädt : μέν.

# THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY OF DIODORUS OF SICILY

#### BOOK XIV

1. All men, perhaps naturally, are disinclined to listen to obloquies that are uttered against them. Indeed even those whose evil-doing is in every respect so manifest that it cannot even be denied, none the less deeply resent it when they are the objects of censure and endeavour to make a reply to the accusation. Consequently all men should take every possible care not to commit any evil deed, and those especially who aspire to leadership or have been favoured by some striking gift of Fortune; for since the life of such men is in all things an open book because of their distinction, it cannot conceal its own unwisdom. no man, therefore, who has gained some kind of preeminence, cherish the hope that, if he commits great crimes, he will for all time escape notice and go un-For even if during his own lifetime he eludes the sentence of rebuke, let him expect that at a later time Truth will find him out, frankly proclaiming abroad matters long hidden from mention. It is, therefore, a hard fate for wicked men that at

βίου καθάπερ ἀθάνατον εἰκόνα μετὰ τὴν ιδίαν τε-. λευτήν απολείπειν τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις καὶ γὰρ εὶ μηδέν ἐστι πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὰ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον. καθάπερ ένιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων θρυλοῦσιν, ὅμως ὅ γε προγεγενημένος βίος γίνεται πολύ χείρων απαντα τον αἰῶναι ἐπὶ κακῷ μνημονευόμενος. ἐμφανῆ δὲ τούτων παραδείγματα λαμβάνειν έξεστι τοῖς ἀνα-

γνοθσι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου.

2. Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ᾿Αθηναίοις τριάκοντα τύραννοι γενόμενοι διὰ τὴν ιδίαν πλεονεξίαν τήν τε πατρίδα μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι περιέβαλον καὶ αὐτοὶ ταχὺ την δύναμιν ἀποβαλόντες ἀθάνατον έαυτων ὅνειδος καταλελοίπασι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε περιποιησάμενοι την της Ελλάδος άρχην αναμφισβήτητον, τότε ταύτης έστερήθησαν ότε πράξεις άδίκους κατά των συμμάχων ἐπιτελεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν αί γὰρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ύπεροχαί τηροῦνται μέν εὐνοία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, καταλύονται δὲ ἀδικήμασι καὶ μίσει τῶν 2 ύποτεταγμένων. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος δ Συρακοσίων τύραννος, καίπερ εὐτυχέστατος τῶν δυναστών γεγονώς, ζών μεν ου διέλιπεν επιβουλευόμενος καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον ἢναγκάζετο φέρειν ύπο τον χιτώνα σιδηρούν θώρακα, τελευτήσας δέ μέγιστον είς βλασφημίας παράδειγμα καταλέλοιπε τον έαυτοῦ βίον είς ἄπαντα τον αίωνα.

'Αλλά περί μεν τούτων εν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις έκαστον αναγράψομεν σαφέστερον, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχή τοις προϊστορημένοις τρεψόμεθα, τους 4 χρόνους μόνον διορίζοντες. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βίβλοις ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ Τροίας άλώ-

<sup>1</sup> So Dobraeus, χρόνον Dindorf: βίον. <sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: ἐπί.

their death they leave to posterity an undying image, so to speak, of their entire life; for even if those things that follow after death do not concern us, as certain philosophers keep chanting, nevertheless the life which has preceded death becomes far worse throughout all time for the evil memory that it enjoys. Manifest examples of this may be found by those who read the detailed story contained in this Book.

2. Among the Athenians, for example, thirty men who became tyrants from their own lust of gain, not only involved their native land in great misfortunes but themselves soon lost their power and have bequeathed a deathless memorial of their own disgrace. The Lacedaemonians, after winning for themselves the undisputed sovereignty of Greece, were shorn of it from the moment when they sought to carry out unjust projects at the expense of their allies. For the superiority of those who enjoy leadership is maintained by goodwill and justice, and is overthrown by acts of injustice and by the hatred of their subjects. Similarly Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, although he has been the most fortunate of such rulers, was incessantly plotted against while alive, was compelled by fear to wear an iron corselet under his tunic, and has bequeathed since his death his own life as an outstanding example unto all ages for the maledictions of men.

But we shall record each one of these illustrations with more detail in connection with the appropriate period of time; for the present we shall take up the continuation of our account, pausing only to define our dates. In the preceding Books we have set down a record of events from the capture of Troy to the end

σεως πράξεις εως επί την κατάλυσιν τοῦ τε Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου καὶ της 'Αθηναίων ήγεμονίας, διελθόντες ετη επτακόσια εβδομήκοντα εννέα εν ταύτη δε τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις προσαναπληροῦντες ἀρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν κατασταθέντων 'Αθήνησι τριάκοντα τυράννων, καταλήξομεν δε επὶ τὴν 'Ρώμης ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν, περιλαβόντες

έτη δέκα ὀκτώ.

3. 'Αναρχίας γὰρ οὔσης 'Αθήνησι διὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν της ήγεμονίας, έτος μεν ην ογδοηκοστον προς τοις έπτακοσίοις μετά την Τροίας άλωσιν, εν δέ τῆ 'Ρώμη χιλίαρχοι διεδέξαντο τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν τέτταρες, Γάιος Φολούιος καὶ Γάιος Σερουίλιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Νουμέριος Φάβιος, ήχθη δὲ 'Ολυμπιάς κατά τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τετάρτη πρὸς ταις ένενήκοντα, καθ' ην ένίκα Κορκίνας Λαρισαίος. 2 κατά δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους ᾿Αθηναῖοι μὲν καταπεπονημένοι ἐποιήσαντο συνθήκας πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καθ' ας έδει τα τείχη της πόλεως καθελείν καὶ τῆ πατρίω πολιτεία χρήσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν τείχη περιείλου, περί δὲ τῆς πολιτείας πρὸς ἀλλήλους 3 διεφέροντο. οί γὰρ τῆς ολιγαρχίας ορεγόμενοι τὴν παλαιάν κατάστασιν ἔφασαν δεῖν ἀνανεοῦσθαι,² καθ' ην παντελώς ολίγοι των όλων προειστήκεισαν οί δὲ πλεῖστοι δημοκρατίας ὄντες ἐπιθυμηταὶ τὴν τῶν πατέρων πολιτείαν προεφέροντο<sup>8</sup> καὶ ταύτην άπέφηναν δμολογουμένως οδοαν δημοκρατίαν.

<sup>1</sup> ξως Sintenis: ως.
 <sup>2</sup> δεῖν ἀνανεοῦσθαι Madvig: διανείμασθαι.
 <sup>3</sup> προεφέροντο] προσεφεροντο P.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  i.e. from 1184 B.c. to 405 B.c. Athens capitulated in 14

of the Peloponnesian War and of the Athenian Empire, covering a period of seven hundred and seventy-nine years. In this Book, as we add to our narrative the events next succeeding, we shall commence with the establishment of the thirty tyrants and stop with the capture of Rome by the Gauls,

embracing a period of eighteen years.

3. There was no archon in Athens because of the 401 B.C. overthrow of the government,2 it being the seven hundred and eightieth year from the capture of Troy, and in Rome four military tribunes succeeded to the consular magistracy, Gaius Fulvius, Gaius Servilius, Gaius Valerius, and Numerius Fabius; and in this year the Ninety-fourth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Corcinas 3 of Larisa was victor.4 this time the Athenians, completely reduced by exhaustion, made a treaty with the Lacedaemonians whereby they were bound to demolish the walls of their city and to employ the polity of their fathers. They demolished the walls, but were unable to agree among themselves regarding the form of government. For those who were bent on oligarchy asserted that the ancient constitution should be revived, in which only a very few represented the state, whereas the greatest number, who were partisans of democracy, made the government of their fathers their platform and declared that this was by common consent a democracy.

April 404 B.c., but Diodorus' year is the Athenian archon

year, in this case July 405 to July 404.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Pythodorus, the archon of the year, was not used by the Athenians to mark the year since he was not elected legally (cp. Xenophon, Hell. 2. 3. 1).

3 Crocinas in Xenophon, Hell. 2. 3. 1. 4 In the "stadion."

'Αντιλογίας δὲ γενομένης περὶ τούτων ἐπί τινας ἡμέρας, οἱ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας αἱρούμενοι πρὸς Λύσανδρον διεπρεσβεύσαντο τὸν Σπαρτιάτην (οῦτος γὰρ καταλυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου τὰ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις άπέσταλτο διοικήσαι, καὶ όλιγαρχίαι ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις καθίσταντο), ἐλπίζοντες² ὅπερ ἢν εἰκός, συνεπιλήψεσθαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αὐτοῖς. διέπλευσαν οδν είς Σάμον έκει γάρ επύγχανε διαπρίβων δ 5 Λύσανδρος, προσφάτως είληφως την πόλιν. παρακαλούντων δε αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ συνεργῆσαι συνεπ-ένευσε, καὶ τῆς μεν Σάμου Θώρακα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην άρμοστήν κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἐκατὸν κατέπλευσεν είς τον Πειραιέα. συναγαγών δ' έκκλησίαν συνεβούλευσε τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις έλέσθαι τριάκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀφηγησομένους τῆς πολιτείας καὶ πάντα διοικήσοντας τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. 6 ἀντειπόντος δὲ τοῦ Θηραμένους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας άναγινώσκοντος, ὅτι τῆ πατρίω συνεφώνησε χρήσεσθαι πολιτεία, καὶ δεινον είναι λέγοντος εἰ παρὰ τους όρκους άφαιρεθήσονται την έλευθερίαν, δ Λύσανδρος έφη λελύσθαι τὰς συνθήκας ὑπὸ ᾿Αθηναίων ύστερον γὰρ τῶν συγκειμένων ἡμερῶν καθηρηκέναι τὰ τείχη. ἀνετείνατο δὲ καὶ τῶ Θηραμένει τὰς μεγίστας ἀπειλάς, ἀποκτενεῖν φήσας εἰ 7 μη παύσεται Λακεδαιμονίοις έναντιούμενος. διόπερ ό τε Θηραμένης καὶ ὁ δημος καταπλαγεὶς ήναγκάζετο χειροτονία καταλύσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν. ήρέθησαν οὖν τριάκοντα ἄνδρες οἱ διοικήσοντες τὰ κοινά της πόλεως, άρμόζοντες μεν τω λόγω, τύραννοι δέ τοῖς πράγμασιν.

1 τὰ added by Dindorf.
 2 οὐχ after ἐλπίζοντες deleted by Rhodoman.

#### BOOK XIV. 3, 4-7

After a controversy over this had continued for 404 B.C. some days, the oligarchic party sent an embassy to Lysander the Spartan, who, at the end of the war, had been dispatched to administer the governments of the cities and had established oligarchies in the greater number of them, for they hoped that, as well he might, he would support them in their design. Accordingly they sailed across to Samos, for it happened that Lysander was tarrying there, having just seized the city. He gave his assent to their pleas for his co-operation, appointed Thorax the Spartan harmost 1 of Samos, and put in himself at the Peiraeus with one hundred ships. Calling an assembly of the Athenians, he advised them to choose thirty men to head the government and to manage all the affairs of the state. And when Theramenes opposed him and read to him the terms of the peace, which agreed that they should enjoy the government of their fathers, and declared that it would be a terrible thing if they should be robbed of their freedom contrary to the oaths, Lysander stated that the terms of peace had been broken by the Athenians, since, he asserted, they had destroyed the walls later than the days of grace agreed upon. He also invoked the direst threats against Theramenes, saying that he would have him put to death if he did not stop opposing the Lacedaemonians. Consequently Theramenes and the people, being struck with terror, were compelled to dissolve the democracy by a show of hands. Accordingly thirty men were elected with power to manage the affairs of the state, as directors ostensibly but tyrants in fact.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Commander of the Spartan garrison and governor of the city.

4. 'Ο δὲ δῆμος θεωρῶν τὴν Θηραμένους ἐπιείκειαν καὶ νομίζων τῆ τούτου καλοκάγαθία τὴν πλεονεξίαν τῶν προεστηκότων ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀναστα-λήσεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ' ἄρχουσιν έχειροτόνησεν. έδει δε τους ήρημένους βουλήν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστῆσαι, καὶ νόμους συγ-2 γράψαι καθ' οθς έμελλον πολιτεύεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἀνεβάλοντο, προφάσεις εὐλόγους αἰεὶ ποριζόμενοι, βουλήν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας άρχὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων κατέστησαν, ὥστε τούτους καλείσθαι μεν άρχοντας, είναι δ' ύπηρέτας τῶν τριάκοντα. καὶ τὸ μεν πρῶτον παραδιδόντες κρίσει τους πονηροτάτους των έν τη πόλει κατεδίκαζον θανάτω καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῖς ἐπιεικεστά-3 τοις των πολιτων εὐαρέστει τὰ γινόμενα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι βιαιότερα καὶ παράνομα πράτ-τειν, ἢτήσαντο παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρουράν, λέγοντες ότι την πολιτείαν καταστήσουσιν έκείνοις συμφέρουσαν. ήδεισαν γάρ ὅτι φόνους ἐπιτελεῖν οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο χωρὶς ξενικῶν ὅπλων πάντας γὰρ 4 ἀνθέξεσθαι τῆς κοινῆς ἀσφαλείας. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ πεμψάντων φρουρὰν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἡγησόμενον Καλλίβιον, τον μεν φρούραρχον εξεθεράπευσαν δώροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλανθρώποις οἱ τριάκοντα, των δὲ πλουσίων ἐπιλέγοντες τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους συνελάμβανον ώς νεωτερίζοντας, καὶ θανάτώ περι-5 βάλλοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευον. τοῦ δὲ Θηραμένους ἐναντιουμένου τοῖς συνάρχουσι καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀντεχομένων τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπειλοῦντος ἀμύ-νεσθαι, συνήγαγον τὴν βουλὴν οἱ τριάκοντα. Κριτίου δὲ προεστῶτος αὐτῶν καὶ πολλὰ κατ-

4. The people, observing the fair dealing of Thera- 404 B.C. menes and believing that his honourable principles would act to some extent to check the encroachments of the leaders, elected him also as one of the thirty officials. It was the duty of those selected to appoint both a Council and the other magistrates and to draw up laws in accordance with which they were to administer the state. Now they kept postponing the drawing up of laws, always putting forth fine-sounding excuses, but a Council and the other magistrates they appointed from their personal friends, so that these bore the name indeed of magistrates but actually were underlings of the Thirty. At first they brought to trial the lowest elements of the city and condemned them to death; and thus far the most honourable citizens approved of their actions. But after this, desiring to commit acts more violent and lawless, they asked the Lacedaemonians for a garrison, saying that they were going to establish a form of government that would serve the interests of the Lacedaemonians. For they realized that they would be unable to accomplish murders without foreign armed aid, since all men, they knew, would unite to support the common security. When the Lacedaemonians sent a garrison and Callibius to command it, the Thirty won the commander over by bribes and other accommodations. Then, choosing out from the rich such men as suited their ends, they proceeded to arrest them as revolutionaries, put them to death, and confiscated their possessions. When Theramenes opposed his colleagues and threatened to join the ranks of those who claimed the right to be secure, the Thirty called a meeting of the Council. Critias was their spokesman, and in a long speech accused

ηγορήσαντος τοῦ Θηραμένους, ὅτι προδίδωσι τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἢς αὐτὸς ἐκουσίως κοινωνεῖ, παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ὁ Θηραμένης καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀπολογησάμενος, ἄπασαν ἔσχε τὴν 6 βουλὴν εὔνουν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κριτίαν φοβούμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα μήποτε καταλύση τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, περιέστησαν στρατιώτας ἔχοντας ἐσπασμένα τὰ ξίφη, 7 καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην συνελάμβανον. ὁ δὲ φθάσας ἀνεπήδησε μὲν πρὸς τὴν βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν, ἔφησε δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καταφεύγειν, οὐ σωθήσεσθαι νομίζων ἀλλὰ σπεύδων τοῖς ἀνελοῦσιν αὐτὸν περιποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν.

5. Παρελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν καὶ ἀποσπώντων αὐτόν, ὁ μὲν Θηραμένης ἔφερε γενναίως τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἄτε καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπὶ πλεῖον μετεσχηκὼς παρὰ Σωκράτει, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἡλέει δυστυχοῦντα τὸν Θηραμένην, οὐ μὴν ἐτόλμα βοηθεῖν περιεστώτων πολλῶν μετὰ ὅπλων. Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ δύο τῶν οἰκείων προσδραμόντες ἐνεχείρουν κωλύειν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἡξίου μηδὲν τούτων πράττειν τὴν μὲν γὰρ φιλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἔφησεν αὐτῶν ἐπαινεῖν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ μεγίστην συμφορὰν ἔσεσθαι, εὶ τοῖς οὕτως δικείως διακειμένοις αἴτιος ἔσται θανάτου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Σωκράτην, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδένα βοηθὸν ἔχοντες, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων ἀνάτασιν¹ ὁρῶντες αὐξανομένην, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον. καὶ Θηραμένην μὲν

Theramenes of betraying this government of which 404 B.C. he was a voluntary member; but Theramenes in his reply cleared himself of the several charges and gained the sympathy of the entire Council.¹ Critias, fearing that Theramenes might overthrow the oligarchy, threw about him a band of soldiers with drawn swords. They were going to arrest him, but, forestalling them, Theramenes leaped up to the altar of Hestia of the Council Chamber, crying out, "I flee for refuge to the gods, not with the thought that I shall be saved, but to make sure that my slayers will involve themselves in an act of impiety against the gods."

5. When the attendants 2 came forward and were dragging him off, Theramenes bore his bad fortune with a noble spirit, since indeed he had had no little acquaintance with philosophy in company with Socrates; the multitude, however, in general mourned the ill-fortune of Theramenes, but had not the courage to come to his aid since a strong armed guard stood around him. Now Socrates the philosopher and two of his intimates ran forward and endeavoured to hinder the attendants. But Theramenes entreated them to do nothing of the kind; he appreciated, he said, their friendship and bravery, but as for himself, it would be the greatest grief if he should be the cause of the death of those who were so intimately associated with him. Socrates and his helpers, since they had no aid from anyone else and saw the intransigence of those in authority increasing, made no move. Then those who had received their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The speeches of Critias and Theramenes are given in Xenophon, *Hell*. 2. 3. 24-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> i.e. of The Eleven, a Board which had charge of condemned prisoners and of the execution of the death sentence (cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 2. 3. 54).

ἀπὸ τῶν βωμῶν ἀποσπάσαντες οἷς ἡν προστεταγμένον, διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἴλκυσαν ἐπὶ τὸν

† θάνατον· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τῆς φρουρᾶς ὅπλα καταπεπληγμένοι συνήλγουν τῷ δυστυχοῦντι, καὶ τήν
τε ἐκείνου συμφορὰν ἄμα καὶ τὴν περὶ σφᾶς δουλείαν ἐδάκρυον· τῶν γὰρ ταπεινῶν ἕκαστοι τὴν
Θηραμένους ἀρετὴν θεωροῦντες οὕτω προπηλακιζομένην, τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀσθένειαν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ
παραναλωθήσεσθαι διειλήφεισαν.¹

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν τούτου θάνατον οἱ τριάκοντα τοὺς πλουσίους ἐπιλεγόμενοι, τούτοις ψευδεῖς αἰτίας έπερρίπτουν, καὶ φονεύοντες τὰς οὐσίας διήρπαζον. άνειλον δέ και Νικήρατον τον Νικίου του στρατηγήσαντος ἐπὶ Συρακοσίους υίόν, ἄνδρα πρὸς ἄπαντας ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, πλούτω δὲ καὶ δόξη 6 σχεδον πρώτον πάντων 'Αθηναίων' διό καὶ συνέβη πασαν οἰκίαν συναλγησαι τη τάνδρος τελευτή, της διά την ἐπιείκειαν μνήμης προαγούσης εἰς δάκρυα. οὐ μὴν ἔληγόν γε² τῆς παρανομίας οἱ τύραννοι, πολύ δέ μαλλον ἐπίτασιν λαμβανούσης τῆς ἀπονοίας τῶν μὲν ξένων τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους έξήκοντα κατέσφαξαν, όπως των χρημάτων κυριεύσωσι, των δέ πολιτών καθ' ήμέραν αναιρουμένων οί τοῖς βίοις εὐπορούμενοι σχεδον ἄπαντες ἔφυγον ἐκ τῆς 7 πόλεως. ἀνείλον δὲ καὶ Αὐτόλυκον, ἄνδρα παρρησιαστήν, καὶ καθόλου τοὺς χαριεστάτους ἐπέλεγον. έπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ κατέφθειραν τὴν πόλιν, ώστε φυγεῖν τούς 'Αθηναίους πλείους τῶν ἡμίσεων.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  So Eichstädt : διειλήφασιν PΛ, διειλήφασι cet.  $^2$  γε Reiske : τε.  $^3$  èπίτασιν Reiske : ἐν ἄπασιν.

#### BOOK XIV. 5, 3-7

orders dragged Theramenes from the altar and 404 B.C. hustled him through the centre of the market-place to his execution; and the populace, terror-stricken at the arms of the garrison, were filled with pity for the unfortunate man and shed tears, not only over his fate but also over their own slavery. For all the common sort, when they saw a man of such virtue as Theramenes treated with such contumely, had concluded that they in their weakness would be sacrificed

without a thought.

After the death of Theramenes the Thirty drew up a list of the wealthy, lodged false charges against them, put them to death, and seized their estates. They slew even Niceratus, the son of Nicias who had commanded the campaign against the Syracusans, a man who had conducted himself toward all men with fairness and humanity, and who was perhaps first of all Athenians in wealth and reputation. It came about, therefore, that every house was filled with pity for the end of the man, as fond thoughts due to their memory of his honest ways provoked them to tears. Nevertheless, the tyrants did not cease from their lawless conduct: rather their madness became so much the more acute that of the metics they slaughtered sixty of the wealthiest in order to gain possession of their property, and as for the citizens, since they were being killed daily, the well-to-do among them fled from the city almost to a man. They also slew Autolycus, an outspoken man, and, in a word, selected 2 the most respectable citizens. So far did their wasting of the city go that more than half of the Athenians took to flight.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A pancratiast (boxer and wrestler) whom Xenophon makes the chief character in his Symposium. See Plutarch, Lysander, 15.

6. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ταπεινὴν¹ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων ὁρῶντες, οὐδέποτε ἰσχῦσαι βουλόμενοι τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους, ἔχαιρον καὶ φανερὰν ἐαυτῶν ἐποίουν τὴν διάθεσιν ἐψηφίσαντο γὰρ τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίων φυγάδας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωγίμους τοῖς τριάκοντα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κωλύσοντα² πέντε ταλάντοις ἔνοχον εἶναι. δεινοῦ δ᾽ ὄντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις καταπεπληγμέναι τὸ βάρος τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ὑπήκουον, ᾿Αργεῖοι δὲ πρῶτοι, μισοῦντες μὲν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀμότητα, κατελεοῦντες δὲ τὰς τύχας τῶν ἀκληρούν-3 των, ὑπεδέχοντο φιλανθρώπως τοὺς φυγάδας. καὶ Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ὑπάρχειν πρόστιμον τῷ θεασαμένῳ μὲν ἀγόμενον φυγάδα μὴ βοηθήσαντι δὲ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ᾿Αθηναίους ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σικελῶν τύραννος ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, περὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς τυραννίδος διενοεῖτο μᾶλλον³ γίνεσθαι· ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀπολελυμένους τοῦ πολέμου σχολὴν
 ἔξειν εἰς τὸ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι. θεωρῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὴν Νῆσον ὀχυρωτάτην οὖσαν καὶ δυναμένην ράδίως φυλάττεσθαι, ταύτην μὲν διωκοδόμησεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως τείχει πολυτελεῖ, καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς καὶ πυκνοὺς ἐνωκοδόμησε, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς χρηματιστήρια καὶ στοὰς
 δυναμένας ὅχλων ἐπιδέχεσθαι πλῆθος. ψκοδόμησε

<sup>1</sup> ταπεινὴν added by Wurm, οὕτω φερομένην (or διακειμένην, διεφθαρμένην) by Reiske. Vogel reads στάσιν for πόλιν.
2 κωλύσοντα P, κωλύσαντα cet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> διενοεῖτο μᾶλλον Reiske: διενόει τὸ μέλλον.

6. The Lacedaemonians, seeing the city of the 404 B.C. Athenians abased in power and having no desire that the Athenians should ever gain strength, were delighted and made their attitude clear; for they voted that the Athenian exiles should be delivered up to the Thirty from all over Greece and that anyone who attempted to prevent this should be liable to a fine of five talents. Though this decree was shocking, all the rest of the cities, dismayed at the power of the Spartans, obeyed it, with the exception of the Argives who, hating as they did the cruelty of the Lacedaemonians and pitying the hard lot of the unfortunate, were the first to receive the exiles in a spirit of humanity. Also the Thebans voted that anyone who witnessed an exile being led off and did not render him all aid within his power should be subject to a fine.

Such, then, was the state of the affairs of the Athenians.

7. In Sicily, Dionysius, the tyrant of the Siceli,¹ after concluding peace with the Carthaginians, planned to busy himself more with the strengthening of his tyranny; for he assumed that the Syracusans, now that they were relieved of the war, would have plenty of time to seek after the recovery of their liberty. And, perceiving that the Island ² was the strongest section of the city and could be easily defended, he divided it from the rest of the city by an expensive wall, and in this he set high towers at close intervals, while before it he built places of business and stoas capable of accommodating a multitude of

<sup>2</sup> Ortygia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Siceli" must be an error for "Sicilian Greeks" or "Syracusans,"

δ' ἐν αὐτῆ πολυτελῶς ἀχυρωμένην ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους καταφυγάς, καὶ συμπεριέλαβε τῷ ταύτης τείχει τὰ πρὸς τῷ μικρῷ λιμένι τῷ Λακκίῳ καλουμένῳ νεώρια· ταῦτα δ' ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις χωροῦντα πύλην εἶχε κλειομένην, δι' ἢς κατὰ μίαν 4 τῶν νεῶν εἰσπλεῖν συνέβαινεν. τῆς δὲ χώρας τὴν μὲν ἀρίστην ἐξελόμενος ἐδωρήσατο τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένοις, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἐμέρισεν ἐπ' ἴσης ξένῳ τε καὶ πολίτῃ, συμπεριλαβῶν τῷ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀνόματι τοὺς ἡλευθερω- μένους δούλους, οῦς ἐκάλει νεοπολίτας. διέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τοῖς ὅχλοις πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῆ Νήσῳ· ταύτας δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἐδωρήσατο.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τυραννίδα καλῶς ἐδόκει διωκηκέναι, τὴν δύναμιν ἐξήγαγεν¹ ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, πάντας μὲν σπεύδων τοὺς αὐτονόμους ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ποιήσασθαι, μάλιστα δὲ τούτους διὰ τὸ 6 συμμαχῆσαι πρότερον Καρχηδονίοις. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑρβησσίνων² πόλιν στρατεύσας τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο. οἱ δὲ συστρατευόμενοι Συρακόσιοι κύριοι τῶν ὅπλων ὄντες συστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο καὶ κατηγόρουν ἀλλήλων ὅτι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐ συνεπελάβοντο τῆς καταλύσεως τῆς τοῦ τυράννου. ὁ δὲ καθεσταμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἡγεμὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡπείλησέ τινι τῶν παρρησιαζομένων, ἀντειπόντος δ' ἐκείνου θρασέως ἐπῆλθεν ὡς πατάξων. 7 ἐφ' ῷ παροξυνθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν μὲν ἔπαρχον ὄνομα Δωρικὸν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας βοῶν-

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  So Reiske : ἐξήνεγκεν.  $^2$  So Dindorf (cp. ch. 78. 7) : Ἑρβησινῶν.

the populace. He also constructed on the Island at 404 r.c. great expense a fortified acropolis as a place of refuge in case of immediate need, and within its wall he enclosed the dockyards which are connected with the small harbour that is known as Laccium. The dockvards could accommodate sixty triremes and had an entrance that was closed off, through which only one ship could enter at a time. As for the territory of Syracuse, he picked out the best of it and distributed it in gifts to his friends as well as to higher officers, and divided the rest of it in equal portions both to aliens and to citizens, including under the name of citizens the manumitted slaves whom he designated as New Citizens. He also distributed the dwellings among the common people, except those on the island, which he gave to his friends and the mercenaries.

When Dionysius thought that he had now organized his tyranny properly, he led forth his army against the Siceli, being eager to bring all the independent peoples under his control, and the Siceli in particular, because of their previous alliance with the Cartha-Accordingly he advanced against the city of the Herbessini and made preparations for its siege. But the Syracusans who were in the army, now that they had arms in their hands, began to gather in groups and upbraid each other that they had not joined with the cavalry in overthrowing the tyrant.1 The man appointed by Dionysius to command the men at first warned one of those who were freespoken, and when the man retorted, stepped boldly up to him to give him a blow. The soldiers, in anger at this, slew the commander, whose name was Doricus, and, crying

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 13. 112.

τες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μετεπέμποντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης ἱππεῖς· οὖτοι γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῷ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐκπεπτωκότες ὤκουν τοῦτο τὸ φρούριον.

8. Διονύσιος δέ καταπλαγείς την απόστασιν των Συρακοσίων την μεν πολιορκίαν έλυσε, είς δε τάς Συρακούσας ηπείγετο, σπεύδων καταλαβέσθαι την πόλιν. οδ φυγόντος οί την απόστασιν ποιησάμενοι στρατηγούς είλοντο τούς αποκτείναντας τον έπαρχον, καὶ παραλαβόντες τοὺς έξ Αἴτνης ἱππεῖς ἐν ταις καλουμέναις Ἐπιπολαις ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν τῷ τυράννω, καὶ διέκλεισαν αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν 2 χώραν έξόδου. εὐθὺς δὲ πρός τε Μεσσηνίους καὶ 'Ρηγίνους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν, δεόμενοι κατὰ θάλατταν συναντιλαβέσθαι της έλευθερίας εἰώθεισαν γάρ αί πόλεις αθται κατ' έκεινον τον καιρον τριήρεις πληρούν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὀγδοήκοντα. τότε τοις Συρακοσίοις αι πόλεις απέστειλαν, 3 σπεύδουσαι συνεπιλαβέσθαι της έλευθερίας. ἐπεκήρυξαν δε καὶ χρημάτων πληθος τοῖς ἀνελοῦσι τὸν τύραννον, καὶ τοῖς μεταβαλομένοις τῶν ξένων ἐπηγγείλαντο μεταδώσειν της πολιτείας. κατεσκεύασαν δὲ καὶ μηχανήματα, δι' ὧν τὰ τείχη σαλεύοντες έξελοῦσι, καὶ προσέβαλλον καθ' ἡμέραν τῆ Νήσω, καὶ τοὺς μεταβαλλομένους τῶν ξένων φιλανθρώπως ἀπεδέχοντο.

4 Διονύσιος δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐξόδου διακεκλεισμένος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐγκαταλειπόμενος, συνήγαγε τοὺς φίλους βουλευσόμενος περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων οὕτω γὰρ τελέως ἀπήλπιστο τὰ τῆς δυναστείας, ὥστε οὐ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν πῶς κατα-

to the citizens to strike for their freedom, sent for the 404 B.C. cavalry from Aetnê; for the cavalry, who had been banished at the beginning of the tyranny, occupied

this outpost.

8. Dionysius, terror-stricken at the revolt of the Syracusans, broke off the siege and hastened to Syracuse, being eager to secure the city. Upon his flight those who had revolted chose as generals the men who had slain the commander, and gathering to their number the cavalry from Actne, they pitched a camp facing the tyrant on the height called Epipolae, and blocked his passage to the countryside. And they at once dispatched ambassadors to the Messenians and the Rhegians, urging these people to join in the bid for freedom by action at sea; for it had been the practice of these cities at this time to man no less than eighty triremes. These triremes the cities dispatched at that time to the Syracusans, being eager to support them in the cause of freedom. The revolters also proclaimed a large reward to any who would slay the tyrant and promised citizenship to any mercenaries who would come over to them. also constructed engines of war with which to shatter and destroy the walls, launched daily assaults upon the Island, and kindly received any of the mercenaries who came over to them.

Dionysius, being shut off as he now was from access to the countryside and constantly being abandoned by the mercenaries, gathered together his friends to counsel with them on the situation; for he had so completely despaired of maintaining his tyrannical power that he no longer was studying how to defeat

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske : εἰώθασιν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Hertlein : ἐξέλωσι.

πολεμήση τούς Συρακοσίους, άλλὰ ποῖον ὑπομείνας θάνατον μὴ παντελως ἄδοξον ποιήση τὴν κατάλυσιν 5 της ἀρχης. Έλωρις μεν οὖν, εἶς τῶν φίλων, ὡς δ' ένιοί φασιν, ό ποιητὸς πατήρ, είπεν αὐτῷ, διότι καλὸν ἐντάφιόν ἐστιν ἡ τυραννίς. Πολύξενος δὲ δ κηδεστής ἀπεφήνατο δεῖν λαβόντα τὸν ὀξύτατον ίππον είς την των Καρχηδονίων επικράτειαν άφιππεῦσαι πρός τοὺς Καμπανούς τούτους γὰρ Ἰμίλκων άπελελοίπει φυλακής ένεκα των κατά Σικελίαν τόπων Φίλιστος δ' ό μετά ταῦτα τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενος, άντειπων τῷ Πολυξένω, προσήκειν έφησεν<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἐφ' ἴππου θέοντος ἐκπηδῶν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος, άλλα τοῦ σκέλους έλκομενον ἐκπίπτειν. 6 ὧ προσσχών δ Διονύσιος ἔκρινε πᾶν ὑπομεῖναι πρότερον ή την δυναστείαν εκλιπείν εκουσίως. διόπερ αποστείλας πρέσβεις πρός τους αφεστηκότας, τούτους μεν παρεκάλει δοῦναι τὴν έξουσίαν αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, πρός δὲ τοὺς Καμπανοὺς λάθρα διαπεμψάμενος ώμολόγησεν αὐτοῖς δώσειν χρήματα ὅσα αν αἰτήσωσιν είς την πολιορκίαν.

9. Τούτων δε πραχθέντων οι μεν Συρακόσιοι τὴν εξουσίαν δόντες τῷ τυράννῷ μετὰ πέντε νεῶν ἀποπλεῖν, ραθυμότεροι καθειστήκεσαν, καὶ τοὺς μεν ἱππεῖς ἀπέλυσαν οὐδεν χρησίμους ὅντας πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν οι πλεῖστοι κατὰ τὴν χώραν εξήεσαν ώς ἤδη καταλελυμένης τῆς τυραννίδος. οι δὲ Καμπανοὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις

So Bekker: καταπολεμῆσαι.
 ποιητός Wesseling: ποιητής.
 δεῖν after ἔφησεν deleted by Vogel.

the Syracusans but rather how to meet death in such 404 B.C. a way as to end his rule not altogether ingloriously. Now Heloris, one of his friends, or, as some say, his adopted father, declared to him, "Tyranny is a fair winding-sheet "; but Polyxenus, his brother-in-law, advised him to use his swiftest horse and ride off into the domain of the Carthaginians to the Campanians, whom Himilcon had left behind to guard the districts Philistus, however, who composed his history after these events, declared in opposition to Polyxenus that it was not fitting to dash from the tyranny on a galloping horse but to be cast out, dragged by the leg. Dionysius agreed with Philistus and decided to submit to anything rather than abandon the throne of his free will. Consequently he sent ambassadors to those in revolt and urged them to allow him and his companions to leave the city, while he secretly dispatched messengers to the Campanians and promised them any price they should ask for the duration of the siege.

9. After the events we have described the Syracusans, having given the tyrant permission to sail away with five ships, took matters with rather less concern; the cavalry, since they were of no use in the siege, they discharged, while as for the infantry, most of them roved off into the countryside, assuming that the tyranny was already at an end. The Campanians, being elated at the promises they had

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plutarch, Dion. 35. 5.

<sup>4</sup> θέοντος Rhodoman: θέλοντος.

<sup>5</sup> For πολιορκίαν Vogel suggests ἐπικουρίαν.
<sup>6</sup> So Stephanus: ράθυμότερον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> iππειs added by Reiske.

<sup>8</sup> So Reiske, ἐπεξήεσαν L, ἀντεξήεσαν cet.

μετεωρισθέντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπ' 'Αγύριον παρεγενήθησαν, έκει δε την αποσκευην "Αγυρι παραθέμενοι τῷ δυναστεύοντι τῆς πόλεως ἐξώρμησαν έπὶ Συρακούσας εὔζωνοι, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὅντες ἱππεῖς 3 χίλιοι διακόσιοι. ταχύ δὲ διανύσαντες τὴν όδὸν άπροσδοκήτως ἐπεφάνησαν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, καὶ πολλούς αὐτῶν ἀνέλόντες εἰσεβιάσαντο πρός τὸν Διονύσιον. κατέπλευσαν δε καὶ τριακόσιοι μισθοφόροι τῷ τυράννῳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν, ὥστε 4 αὐτὸν ἀνακῦψαι ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πάλιν τῆς δυναστείας ἰσχυροποιουμένης ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τῶν μὲν ἀποφαινομένων μένειν καὶ

πολιορκείν, των δε λύειν το στρατόπεδον και την

πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν.

"Α δή συνιδών ο Διονύσιος εξήγαγεν επ' αὐτούς την δύναμιν, καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσών ράδίως έτρέψατο περί την Νέαν πόλιν καλουμένην. άνηρέθησαν μεν οθν οθ πολλοί παριππεθων γάρ δ Διονύσιος ἐκώλυσε φονεύειν τοὺς φεύγοντας οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι παραχρήμα μὲν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐσκε-δάσθησαν, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἰς Αίτνην ήθροίσθησαν ύπερ τούς επτακισχιλίους.

6 Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς πεσόντας τῶν Συρακοσίων θάψας ἀπέστειλε πρέσβεις εἰς Αἴτνην, ἀξιῶν τοὺς φυγάδας διαλύεσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα κατοικεῖν, διδοὺς

7 πίστιν μη μνησικακήσειν αὐτοῖς. τινès μèν οὖν τέκνα καί γυναικας απολελοιπότες ήναγκάσθησαν πεισθήναι τοις παρακαλουμένοις οι δε λοιποί, προφερομένων των πρεσβευτών την τοῦ Διονυσίου περί την ταφην των πεσόντων εθεργεσίαν, έφασαν αθτόν άξιον είναι τυχείν της όμοίας χάριτος, καὶ τοίς

1 So Stephanus: είσεβιβάσαντο.

をあっておけれるのではない。 おおない

received, first of all came to Agyrium, and leaving 404 B.C. their baggage there with Agyris, the ruler of the city, they set forth unencumbered for Syracuse, being in number twelve hundred cavalry. Completing the journey in quick time, they came upon the Syracusans unexpectedly and, slaying many of them, they forced their way through to Dionysius. At this same time three hundred mercenaries had also landed to aid the tyrant, so that his hopes revived. The Syracusans, as the despotic power again gathered strength, were at odds among themselves, some maintaining that they should remain and continue the siege and others that they should disband their forces and abandon the city.

As soon as Dionysius learned of this, he led his army out against them, and falling on them while they were disordered, he easily routed them near the New City, as it is called. Not many of them, however, were slain, since Dionysius, riding among his men, stopped them from killing the fugitives. The Syracusans were forthwith scattered over the countryside, but a little later more than seven thousand of them were gathered with the cavalry at Aetnê. Dionysius, after burying the Syracusans who had fallen, dispatched ambassadors to Aetnê, asking the exiles to accept terms and return to their native land, and giving his pledged word that he would not bear enmity against them. Now certain of them, who had left behind children and wives, felt compelled to accept the offer; but the rest replied, when the ambassadors cited the benefaction Dionysius had performed in the burial of the dead, that he deserved the same favour, and they prayed to the gods that

θεοῖς ηὔχοντο τὴν ταχίστην αὐτὸν ἐπιδεῖν ταύτης 8 τυγχάνοντα. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ βουληθέντες πιστεῦσαι τῷ τυράννῳ κατέμειναν ἐν Αἴτνῃ, καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες κατ' αὐτοῦ· Διονύσιος δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατελθοῦσι φυγάσι φιλανθρώπως ἐχρήσατο, βουλόμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προτρέψασθαι κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, τοὺς δὲ Καμπανοὺς ταῖς καθηκούσαις δωρεαῖς τιμήσας ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὑφορώμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα. οἱ πορευθέντες εἰς "Εντελλαν, καὶ πείσαντες τοὺς ἐν τῆ πόλει λαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς συνοίκους, νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας ἀπέσφαξαν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν παρασπονδηθέντων γήμαντες κατέσχον τὴν πόλιν.

10. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταλελυκότες τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον ὁμολογουμένην ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν. καταστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Λύσανδρον, τούτψ προσέταξαν ἐπιπορεύεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, ἐν ἑκάστη τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένους άρμοστὰς ἐγκαθιστάντα· ταῖς γὰρ δημοκρατίαις προσκόπτοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐβούλοντο τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖσθαι. ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ φόρους τοῖς καταπολεμηθεῖσι, καὶ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον οὐ χρώμενοι νομίσματι τότε συνήθροιζον ἐκ τοῦ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πλείω τῶν χιλίων

ταλάντων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πράγματα κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀξίαν διώκησαν, ἀπέστειλαν "Αριστον ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν εἰς Συρακούσας, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ

¹ Governors from Sparta. After Aegospotami Lysander 34.

they might, the sooner the better, see him obtain it. 404 B.C. These men, accordingly, who would by no means put any trust in the tyrant, remained in Aetnê, watching for an opportunity against him. Dionysius treated with humanity the exiles who returned, wishing to encourage the rest to return to their native land too. To the Campanians he awarded the gifts that were due and then dispatched them from the city, having regard to their fickleness. These made their way to Entella and persuaded the men of the city to receive them as fellow-inhabitants; then they fell upon them by night, slew the men of military age, married the wives of the men with whom they had broken faith, and possessed themselves of the city.

10. In Greece the Lacedaemonians, now that they had brought the Peloponnesian War to an end, held the supremacy by common acknowledgement both on land and on sea. Appropriate Lysander admiral, they ordered him to and set up in each the magistrates they call harmosts 1; for the Lacedaemonians, who had a dislike for the democracies, wished the cities to have oligarchic governments. They also levied tribute upon the peoples they had conquered, and although before this time they had not used coined money, they now collected yearly from

the tribute more than a thousand talents.2

When the Lacedaemonians had settled the affairs of Greece to their own taste, they dispatched Aristus.3 one of their distinguished men, to Syracuse, ostensibly

had appointed boards of ten citizens in each conquered city to form an oligarchic government. See Xenophon, Hell. 3, 4, 2,

Named Aretes in chap. 70. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Diodorus is the only authority for such a figure, which can scarcely be credited.

προσποιούμενοι καταλύειν την δυναστείαν, τη δ' άληθεία σπεύδοντες αὐξησαι τὴν τυραννίδα ήλπιζον γὰρ συγκατασκευάζοντες τὴν ἀρχἡν ὑπήκοον ἕξειν 3 τον Διονύσιον διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας. ὁ δ' "Αριστος καταπλεύσας εἰς Συρακούσας καὶ τῷ τυράννῳ λάθρα περὶ τούτων διαλεχθείς, τούς τε Συρακοσίους ἀνασείων καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκαταστήσειν έπαγγειλάμενος, Νικοτέλην μεν τον Κορίνθιον ἀνείλεν ἀφηγούμενον τῶν Συρακοσίων, τοὺς δὲ πιστεύσαντας προδούς τὸν μὲν τύραννον ἰσχυρὸν κατέστησε, διὰ δὲ τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ἀσχημονεῖν 4 ἐποίησεν αύτὸν ἄμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἐπὶ τὸν θερισμὸν ἀποστείλας ἐπῆλθε τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα πάντων ἀφείλετο, μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ἔτερον τεῖχος ψκοδόμει περὶ την ακρόπολιν, καὶ ναθς τε κατεσκευάζετο, συνηγε δέ καὶ μισθοφόρων πληθος, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς τυραννίδος, ὡς αν ἔργοις ήδη πειραν είληφως ὅτι παν ὑπομένουσιν οί Συρακόσιοι χάριν τοῦ μὴ δουλεύειν.

11. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Φαρνάβαζος ὁ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως σατράπης 'Αλκιβιάδην τὸν 'Αθηναῖον συλλαβὼν ἀνεῖλε, χαρίσασθαι βουλόμενος Λακεδαιμονίοις. τοῦ δ' 'Εφόρου δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιβουλευθῆναι γεγραφότος, οὐκ ἄχρηστον εἶναι νομίζω παραθεῖναι τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ 2 συγγραφέως ἐπιβουλὴν κατ' 'Αλκιβιάδου. φησὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἐπτακαιδεκάτην βίβλον Κῦρον μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους λάθρα παρασκευάζεσθαι ἄμα πολεμεῖν πρὸς 'Αρταξέρξην τὸν ἀδελφόν, 'Αλκιβιάδην δὲ διά τινων αἰσθόμενον τὴν Κύρου προ-

<sup>1</sup> For θερισμόν Wurm suggests θέατρον.

pretending that they would overthrow the govern- 404 B.C. ment, but in truth with intent to increase the power of the tyranny; for they hoped that by helping to establish the rule of Dionysius they would obtain his ready service because of their benefactions to him. Aristus, after having put ashore at Syracuse and discussed secretly with the tyrant the matters we have mentioned, kept stirring up the Syracusans and promised to restore their liberty; then he slew Nicoteles the Corinthian, a leader of the Syracusans, made strong the tyrant by betraying those who put their faith in him, and by such conduct brought disgrace both upon himself and upon his native land. Dionysius, sending the Syracusans out to harvest their crops,1 entered their homes and carried off the arms of them all; after this he built a second wall about the acropolis, constructed war vessels, and also collected a great number of mercenaries; and he made every other provision to safeguard the tyranny, since he had learned by experience that the Syracusans would endure anything to escape slavery.

11. While these events were taking place, Pharnabazus, the satrap <sup>2</sup> of King Darius, wishing to gratify the Lacedaemonians, seized Alcibiades the Athenian and put him to death. But since Ephorus recounts that his death was sought for other reasons, I think it not unprofitable to set forth the plot against Alcibiades as the historian has described it. He states in the Seventeenth Book that Cyrus and the Lacedaemonians were making secret plans for a joint war against Cyrus' brother Artaxerxes, and Alcibiades, learning of Cyrus' purpose from certain

Wurm suggests "sending them to the theatre."
<sup>2</sup> Satrap of Phrygia and Bithynia.

αίρεσιν έλθεῖν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον καὶ περὶ τούτων έξηγήσασθαι κατά μέρος, άξιωσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναβάσεως όδηγον προς Αρταξέρξην βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἐμφανίσαι πρῶτον τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῷ βασιλεῖ. 3 τὸν δὲ Φαρνάβαζον ἀκούσαντα τῶν λόγων σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν καὶ πέμψαι πιστούς ἄνδρας ὑπὲρ τούτων τῷ βασιλεῖ δηλώσοντας. οὐ διδόντος δέ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου τοὺς παραπέμψοντας είς τὰ βασίλεια, φησὶ τὸν μὲν ᾿Λλκιβιάδην ὁρμῆσαι πρός του σατράπην της Παφλαγονίας, όπως δι' έκείνου ποιήσαιτο την ἀνάβασιν τον δε Φαρνάβαζον φοβηθέντα μὴ περὶ τούτων ἀκούση τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπαποστεῖλαι τοὺς ἀνελοῦντας 4 κατά την όδον τον 'Αλκιβιάδην. τους δε καταλαβόντας αὐτὸν τῆς Φρυγίας ἔν τινι κώμη κατεσκηνωκότα νυκτὸς περιθεῖναι ξύλων πληθος ἀναφθέντος οὖν πολλοῦ πυρὸς τὸν ᾿Αλκιβιάδην ἐπιχειρῆσαι μὲν άμύνεσθαι, κρατηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν είς αὐτὸν ἀκοντιζόντων τελευτῆσαι.

Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Δημόκριτος δ φιλόσοφος ετελεύτησε βιώσας έτη ενενήκοντα. Λασθένην δὲ τὸν Θηβαῖον τὸν νενικηκότα ταύτην την όλυμπιάδα λέγεται πρός ίππον άθλητην δραμόντα νικήσαι τον δε δρόμον από τής Κορωνείας μέχρι της Θηβαίων πόλεως γενέσθαι.

Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν 'Ρωμαίων φρουρούντων "Ερρουκαν πόλιν Ουόλσκων επελθόντες οι πολέμιοι της τε πόλεως εκράτησαν και των φρουρών τούς πλείστους ἀνεῖλαν.

12. Των δε κατά τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πράξεων

#### BOOK XIV. 11. 2-12. 1

parties, went to Pharnabazus and told him of it in 404 B.C. detail; and he asked him for someone to conduct him on a mission to Artaxerxes, since he wished to be the first to disclose the plot to the King. But Pharnabazus, on hearing the story, usurped the function of reporter and sent trusted men to disclose the matter to the King. When Pharnabazus did not provide escorts to the capital, Ephorus continues, Alcibiades set out to the satrap of Paphlagonia in order to make the trip with his assistance; but Pharnabazus, fearing lest the King should hear the truth of the affair, sent men after Alcibiades to slav him on the road. These came upon him where he had taken shelter in a village of Phrygia, and in the night enclosed the place with a mass of fuel. When a strong fire was kindled, Alcibiades endeavoured to save himself, but came to his death from the fire and the javelins of his attackers.1

About the same time Democritus <sup>2</sup> the philosopher died at the age of ninety. And Lasthenes the Theban, who was the victor in the Olympic Games of this year, won a race, we are told, against a race horse, the course being from Coroneia to the city of the Thebans.<sup>3</sup>

In Italy the Roman garrison of Erruca, a city of the Volsci, was attacked by the enemy, who captured the city and slew most of the defenders.

12. When the events of this year had come to an 403 B.C

<sup>2</sup> The famous developer of the "atomic" theory.

3 A distance of about thirty miles.

<sup>4</sup> Verrugo (Livy, 4. 58).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A very different account of the circumstances of the murder of Alcibiades is given by Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 38. 3f.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske, Bezzel: δδόν.

τέλος έχουσῶν ᾿Αθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἄρχων Εὐκλείδης, έν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο χιλίαρχοι τέσσαρες, Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος, Νουμέριος 2 Φάβιος, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων Βυζάντιοι πρός μέν άλλήλους στασιάζοντες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς παροικοῦντας Θρᾶκας πόλεμον ἔχοντες, κακῶς ἀπήλλαττον οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ λύσιν πορίσασθαι της πρός άλλήλους φιλονεικίας, στρατηγον ήτήσαντο παρά Λακεδαιμονίων. έπεμψαν οὖν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται Κλέαρχον καταστή-3 σοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὖτος δὲ πιστευθεὶς περὶ τῶν ὅλων καὶ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς ἀθροίσας, οὐκέτι προστάτης ἢν, ἀλλὰ τύραννος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον τους ἄρχοντας αὐτών ἐπί τινι θυσία καλέσας άνειλε, μετά δε ταθτα άναρχίας ούσης εν τη πόλει, τριάκοντα μέν τους ονομαζομένους Βυζαντίους1 συνήρπασε καὶ περιθείς κάλων ἀπεστραγγάλισε. πάντων δε τῶν διαφθαρέντων τὰς οὐσίας σφετερισάμενος επελέγετο και των άλλων τους ευπόρους, καὶ ψευδεῖς αἰτίας ἐπιρρίπτων οθς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν ους δε εφυγάδευσε. πολλών δε χρημάτων κυριεύσας καὶ μισθοφόρων άθροίσας πληθος τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν ήσφαλίσατο.

4 Διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν τύραννον ὡμότητός τε καὶ δυνάμεως, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις τοὺς πείσοντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν δυναστείαν οὐ προσέχοντος
δὲ τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις ἔπεμψαν δύναμιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ
5 στρατηγὸν Πανθοίδαν. οὖ τὴν ἔφοδον αἰσθόμενος

<sup>1</sup> Βυζαντίους] Βοιωτούς ΛΗΙ.

end, Eucleides was archon in Athens, and in Rome 403 B.C. four military tribunes succeeded to the consular magistracy, Publius Cornelius, Numerius Fabius, and Lucius Valerius.<sup>1</sup> After these magistrates had taken office, the Byzantines were in serious difficulties both because of factional strife and of a war that they were waging with the neighbouring Thracians; and since they were unable to devise a settlement of their mutual differences, they asked the Lacedaemonians for a general. The Spartans, accordingly, sent them Clearchus to bring order to the affairs of the city; and he, after being entrusted with supreme authority, and having gathered a large body of mercenaries, was no longer their president but their tyrant. First of all, he invited their chief magistrates to attend a festival of some kind and put them to death, and after this, since there was no government in the city, he seized a group of thirty prominent Byzantines, put a cord about their necks, and strangled them to death. After appropriating for himself the property of those he had slain, he also picked out the wealthy among the rest of the citizens, and launching false charges against them, he put some to death and drove others into exile. Having thus acquired a large amount of money and assembled a great body of mercenaries, he made his tyrannical power seenre.

When the cruelty and power of the tyrant became noised abroad, the Lacedaemonians first of all dispatched ambassadors to him to prevail upon him to lay down his tyrannical power, but when he paid no heed to their requests, they sent an army against him under the command of Panthoedas. Clearchus,

Most of the manuscripts add "and Terentius Maximus."

ό Κλέαρχος είς Σηλυμβρίαν μετήγαγε την δύναμιν, κύριος ών καὶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πολλά γὰρ εἰς τους Βυζαντίους ήμαρτηκώς υπελάμβανεν ου μόνον τούς Λακεδαιμονίους άλλά καὶ τούς έν τη πόλει 6 πολεμίους έξειν. διόπερ έκ Σηλυμβρίας κρίνας ἀσφαλέστερον διαπολεμήσειν, τά τε χρήματα καὶ την δύναμιν μετέστησεν. ώς δ' επύθετο τους Λακεδαιμονίους έγγυς όντας, ἀπήντησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ περὶ τὸν καλούμενον Πόρον συνῆψε μάχην τοῖς τερὶ τὸν Πανθοίδαν. γενομένου δ' ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ κινδύνου, καὶ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισαμένων των Λακεδαιμονίων, οί τοῦ τυράννου διεφθάρησαν. δ δὲ Κλέαρχος τὸ μὲν πρώτον μετ' ολίγων συνκλεισθείς είς Σηλυμβρίαν ἐπολιορκεῖτο μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φοβηθείς διέδρα νυκτός και διέπλευσεν είς την Ἰωνίαν έκει δ' είς συνήθειαν έλθων Κύρω τω 8 τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ δυνάμεων ἀφηγήσατο. δ γαρ Κύρος, άρχων αποδεδειγμένος των έπὶ θαλάττη σατραπειῶν καὶ φρονήματος πλήρης ὤν, διενοεῖτο 9 στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ᾿Αρταξέρξην. ὁρῶν οὖν τὸν Κλέαρχον τόλμαν ἔχοντα καὶ θράσος πρόχειρον, έδωκεν αὐτῷ χρήματα καὶ προσέταξεν ώς πλείστους ξενολογείν, νομίζων εύθετον έξειν συνανωνιστην τοις ύπ' αὐτοῦ τολμωμένοις.

13. Λύσανδρος δὲ ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἐπειδὴ πάσας τὰς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεις διώκησε κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων γνώμην, ἐν αἶς μὲν δεκαδαρχίας, ἐν αἷς δὸ ὀλιγαρχίας καταστήσας, περίβλεπτος ἦν ἐν

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  The Aegean Sca. Xenophon (Anab. 1. 1. 2) states that 42

on learning of his approach, transferred his army to 403 B.C. Selymbria, being master also of this city, for he assumed that after the many crimes he had committed against the Byzantines, he would have as enemies not only the Lacedaemonians, but also the inhabitants of the city. Consequently, having decided that Selymbria would be a safer base for the war, he removed both his treasure and his army to that place. When he learned that the Lacedaemonians were close at hand, he advanced to meet them and joined battle with the troops of Panthoedas at the place called Porus. The struggle lasted a long while, but the Lacedaemonians fought splendidly and the forces of the tyrant were destroyed. Clearchus with a few companions was at first shut up in Selymbria and besieged there, but later he was fearful and slipped away by night, and crossed over to Ionia, where he became intimate with Cyrus, the brother of the Persian King, and won command of his troops. For Cyrus, who had been appointed supreme commander of the satrapies lying on the sea 1 and was afire with ambition, was planning to lead an army against his brother Artaxerxes. Observing, therefore, that Clearchus possessed daring and a prompt boldness, he supplied him with funds and instructed him to enroll as many mercenaries as he could, believing that he would have in Clearchus an apt partner for his bold undertakings.

13. Lysander the Spartan, after he had introduced governments in all the cities under the Lacedae-monians in accordance with the will of the ephors, establishing a rule of ten men in some and oligarchies

he had been made "general of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus."

τῆ Σπάρτη. καταλύσας γὰρ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον τῆ πατρίδι περιτεθεικώς ἡν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν όμολογουμένην καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ 2 θάλατταν. διόπερ ἐπὶ τούτοις πεφρονηματισμένος διενοείτο καταλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν βασιλείαν καὶ κοινὴν ἐκ πάντων Σπαρτιατῶν ποιῆσαι τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν βασιλέων ἤλπιζε γὰρ εἰς έαυτὸν τάχιστα την άρχην ήξειν διὰ τὸ μεγίστας καὶ καλ-3 λίστας πράξεις κατειργάσθαι. θεωρών δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τοῖς μαντείοις προσέχοντας, ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς προφητιν διαφθεῖραι χρήμασιν ενόμιζε γάρ, εί χρησμον λάβοι σύμμαχον ταις ιδίαις επιβολαις, ραδίως ἄξεινι επι τέλος την 4 προαίρεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παμπληθη² χρήματα τοῖς περὶ τὸ μαντείον διατρίβουσιν ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἔπειθε, ταις ἐν Δωδώνη περὶ τὸ μαντείον οὔσαις ἱερείαις προσήνεγκε λόγους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν διά τινος Φερεκράτους, ᾿Απολλωνιάτου μὲν τὸ γένος, ἔχοντος δε συνήθειαν πρός τους περί το ίερον διατρίβοντας.

5 Οὐδὲν δὲ πρᾶξαι δυνάμενος ἐξεδήμησεν εἰς Κυρήνην, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς εὐχὰς ἀποδιδοὺς "Αμμωνι, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία διαφθεῖραι βουλόμενος τὸ μαντεῖον ἐκόμισε δὲ καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος, δι' ὧν ἤλπιζε τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν διατρίβοντας πεῖσαι.

6 καὶ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους Λίβυς ξένος ἢν αὐτῷ πατρικός, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Λυσάνδρου συνέβαινεν ὀνομάζεσθαι Λίβυν ἀπὸ τῆς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Dindorf : η̈́ξειν. <sup>2</sup> χρόνον after παμπληθη deleted by Reiske.

in others, was the cynosure of Sparta. For by bring- 403 B.C. ing the Peloponnesian War to an end he had bestowed upon his native land the supreme power, acknowledged by all, both on land and on sea. Consequently, having become filled with pride on this account, he conceived the idea of putting an end to the kingship of the Heracleidae 1 and making every Spartan eligible to election as king; for he hoped that the kingship would very soon come to him because of his achievements, which were very great and glorious. Knowing that the Lacedaemonians gave very great heed to the responses of oracles, he attempted to bribe the prophetess in Delphi, since he believed that, if he should receive an oracular response favourable to the designs he entertained, he should easily carry his project to a successful end. But when he could not win over the attendants of the oracle, despite the large sum he promised them, he opened negotiations on the same matter with the priestesses of the oracle of Dodonê, through a certain Pherecrates, who was a native of Apollonia and intimate with the attendants of the shrine.

Meeting with no success, he made a journey to Cyrene, offering as his reason payment of vows to Ammon,<sup>2</sup> but actually for the purpose of bribing the oracle; and he took with him a great sum of money with which he hoped to win over the attendants of the shrine. And in fact Libys, the king of those regions, was a guest-friend of his father, and it so happened that Lysander's brother had been named Libys by reason of the friendship with the king.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The two lines of Spartan kings claimed to be "Descendants of Heracles."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Zeus-Ammon, whose shrine was in the Oasis of Siwah.

7 πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλίας. διὰ δὴ τούτου καὶ τῶν κομιζομένων χρημάτων ἐλπίσας πείσειν οὐ μόνον ἀπέτυχε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεξέπεμψαν οἱ
τοῦ μαντείου προεστῶτες πρέσβεις τοὺς κατηγορήσουτας τοῦ Λυσάνδρου περὶ τῆς τοῦ χρηστηρίου
διαφθορᾶς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος παραγενηθεὶς εἰς
Λακεδαίμονα κρίσεως αὐτῷ προτεθείσης ἀπελογή8 σατο πιθανῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν
ἤδεισαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ Λυσάνδρου
προαιρέσεως εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους
βασιλεῖς· μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ,
καί τινων χρηματισμῶν ζητουμένων κατὰ τὴν
οἰκίαν, εὖρον λόγον γεγραμμένον πολυτελῶς,¹ ὂν
ἐπραγματεύσατο πρὸς τὰ πλήθη, πείσων ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν πολιτῶν αἰρετοὺς γίνεσθαι βασιλεῖς.

των των πολιτων αίρετοὺς γίνεσθαι βασιλεῖς.

14. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ των Συρακοσίων τύραννος ἐπειδὴ τὴν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν στάσεων ἀπήλλακτο, τὰς ὁμόρους τῶν Χαλκιδέων πόλεις ἔσπευδε προσαγαγέσθαι· αὖται δ' ἦσαν Νάξος, Κατάνη, Λεοντῖνοι. 2 τούτων δ' ἐπεθύμει κυριεῦσαι διὰ τὸ συνορίζειν αὐτὰς τὴ Συρακούση καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς δυναστείας. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τῆ Αἴτνη προσστρατοπεδεύσας² παρέλαβε τὸ φρούριον, τῶν φυγάδων οὐκ ὄντων ἀξιομάχων πρὸς τηλικαύτην δύναμιν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Λεοντίνους ἀναζεύξας ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Τηρίαν ποταμόν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν ἐξαπέστειλε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς Λεοντίνους, κελεύων παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ

πολυτελῶς] φιλοτίμως οτ ἐπιμελῶς Bezzel.
 So Vogel: στρατεύσας.

With the king's help, then, and the money he 408 B.C. brought, he hoped to win them, but not only did he fail of his design, but the overseers of the oracle sent ambassadors to lay charges against Lysander for his effort to bribe the oracle. When Lysander arrived at Lacedaemon, a trial was proposed, but he presented a persuasive defence of his conduct. Now at that time the Lacedaemonians knew nothing of Lysander's purpose to abolish the kings in line of descent from Heracles; but some time later, after his death, when some documents were being searched for in his house, they found a speech, composed at great expense, which he had prepared to deliver to the people, to persuade them that the kings should be elected from all the citizens.

14. Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, after he had made peace with the Carthaginians and had got free of the uprisings in the city, was eager to attach to himself the neighbouring cities of the Chalcidians, anamely, Naxos, Catanê, and Leontini. He was eager to be lord of them because they lay on the borders of Syracuse and possessed many advantages for further increase of his tyrannical power. First of all, then, he encamped near Aetnê and won the fortress, the exiles there being no match for an army of such size; and after this he advanced to Leontini and pitched his camp near the city along the river Teria. Then he at first led out his army in battle-order and dispatched a herald to the Leontines, commanding them to surrender the city and

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  Or more likely, "composed with great care"; see critical note.  $^2$   $\emph{i.e.}$  colonies of Chalcis.

4 νομίζων τῷ φόβῳ καταπληξαι τοὺς ἔνδον οὐ προσεχόντων δε τῶν Λεοντίνων, ἀλλὰ πάντα παρεσκευασμένων τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν, Διονύσιος ούκ έχων μηχανήματα την μεν πολιορκίαν κατά τὸ παρὸν ἀπέγνω, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἄπασαν ἐλεηλά-5 τησεν. ἐκείθεν δ' ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Σικελούς, προσποιούμενος τον πρός τούτους πόλεμον έπαναιρείσθαι πρός τὸ τούς Καταναίους καὶ Ναξίους ραθυμοτέρους γενέσθαι περί την της πόλεως φυ-6 λακήν. διατρίβων δὲ περὶ τὴν ενναν ᾿Αείμνηστον τὸν Ἐνναῖον ἔπεισεν ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι, συνεπι-7 λήψεσθαι της προθέσεως ἐπαγγελλόμενος. κρατήσαντος δ' εκείνου της επιβολής καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον ούκ είσαγαγόντος είς τὴν πόλιν, διοργισθείς μετεβάλετο καὶ τοὺς Ἐνναίους παρεκάλει καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον. ὧν συνδραμόντων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιποιουμένων, 8 πλήρης ήν ή πόλις ταραχής. Διονύσιος δὲ πυθόμενος την στάσιν ανέλαβε τούς ψιλούς και ταχέως . διά τινος ἐρήμου τόπου² παρεισέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸν μὲν 'Αείμνηστον συλλαβών παρέδωκε τοις Ένναίοις πρός την τιμωρίαν, αὐτός δ' οὐδέν άδικήσας ἀπηλθεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξεν ούχ ούτως τοῦ δικαίου φροντίζων ώς βουλόμενος προτρέψασθαι τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις αὐτῷ πιστεύειν.
15. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀναζεύξας τὴν τῶν Ἑρβιταίων

15. Ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀναζεύξας τὴν τῶν Ἑρβιταίων πόλιν πορθεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν· οὐδὲν δὲ πράσσων πρὸς μὲν τούτους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ Κατάνην· ᾿Αρκεσίλαος γὰρ στρατηγὸς ὢν τῶν Καταναίων ἐπηγγέλλετο αὐτῷ προδώσειν

So Hertlein: φίλους.
 ἐλθών after τόπου omitted JK, Vogel.

believing that he had struck terror into the inhabi- 403 B.C. tants. But when the Leontines paid no attention to him and had made every preparation to withstand a siege, Dionysius, having no engines of war, gave up the siege for the time being, but plundered their entire territory. From there he set out against the Siceli, pretending that he was engaging in war against them in order that the Catanians and the Naxians might become slacker in the defence of their cities. And while he was tarrying in the neighbourhood of Enna, he persuaded Aeimnestus, a native of the city, to make a bid for tyranny, promising to aid him in the undertaking. But when Acimnestus had succeeded in his design and then did not admit Dionysius into the city, Dionysius in anger changed sides and urged the Ennaeans to overthrow the tyrant. These streamed into the market-place with their arms, contending for their freedom, and the city was filled with tumult. Dionysius, on learning of the strife, took his light-armed troops, speedily broke through an unoccupied place into the city, seized Aeimnestus, and handed him over to the Ennaeans to be punished. He himself, refraining from all injustice, departed from the city. This he did, not so much because he had regard for right as because he wanted to encourage the other cities to put faith in him.

15. From Enna Dionysius set out to the city of the Herbitaeans and attempted to ravage it. But accomplishing nothing, he made peace with them and led his army to Catanê, for Arcesilaüs, the general of the Catanians, had offered to betray the city to him.

τὴν πόλιν. διόπερ ὑπὸ τούτου περὶ μέσας νύκτας παρεισαχθείς κύριος της Κατάνης έγένετο. άφελόμενος δέ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ ὅπλα, φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτῆ 2 κατέστησεν ίκανήν. μετά δὲ ταῦτα Προκλῆς ὁ των Ναξίων ἀφηγούμενος ἐπαγγελιῶν μεγέθει πεισθείς παρέδωκε τὴν πατρίδα τῷ Διονυσίῳ· ὁς τὰς δωρεὰς ἀποδοὺς τῷ προδιδόντι καὶ τοὺς συγγενείς αὐτῷ χαρισάμενος τὴν πόλιν έξηνδραποδίσατο, καὶ τὰς μὲν κτήσεις ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι, τὰ δὲ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας κατέσκαψεν. 3 παραπλησίως δὲ καί τοῖς Καταναίοις χρησάμενος έλαφυροπώλησε τους αίχμαλώτους έν Συρακούσαις. την μέν οδν των Ναξίων χώραν Σικελοις τοις όμοροῦσιν ἐδωρήσατο, τοῖς δὲ Καμπανοῖς τὴν πόλιν 4 τῶν Καταναίων οἰκητήριον ἔδωκεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα έπὶ Λεοντίνους στρατεύσας άπάση τῆ δυνάμει τὴν πόλιν περιεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ πρός τους ενδον διαπρεσβευσάμενος εκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς παραδιδόναι την πόλιν και μετέχειν της έν Συρακούσαις πολιτείας. οι δε Λεοντίνοι, βοήθειαν μεν οὐδεμίαν ἔξειν προσδοκῶντες, τὰς δε Ναξίων καὶ Καταναίων συμφοράς ἀναλογιζόμενοι, κατεπλήττοντο φοβούμενοι μή τοις αὐτοις περιπέσωσι δυστυχήμασιν. διόπερ είξαντες τῷ καιρῷ συνεχώρησαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες εἰς Συρακούσας μετώκησαν.
16. 'Αρχωνίδης δ' ὁ τῆς 'Ερβίτης ἐπιστάτης,

16. 'Αρχωνίδης δ' ὁ τῆς 'Ερβίτης ἐπιστάτης, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Διονύσιον εἰρήνην ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν 'Ερβιταίων συνέθετο, διενοεῖτο κτίσαι πόλιν. εἶχε γὰρ μισθοφόρους τε πλείους καὶ σύμμικτον ὅχλον, ὅς τῷ πρὸς Διονύσιον πολέμῳ συνέδραμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόρων¹ 'Ερβιταίων ἐπηγ-

<sup>1</sup> των ἀπόρων Post : των ἀπό των.

Consequently, being admitted by Arcesilaüs about 403 B.C. midnight, he became master of Catanê. After taking their arms from the citizens, he placed an adequate garrison in the city. After this Procles, the commander of the Naxians, on being won over by great promises, delivered over his native city to Dionysius, who, after paying the promised gifts to the traitor and granting him his kinsmen, sold the inhabitants into slavery, turned their property over to the soldiers to plunder, and razed the walls and the dwellings. also meted out a similar treatment to the Catanians. selling the captives he took as booty in Syracuse. Now the territory of the Naxians he gave as a present to the neighbouring Siceli and granted to the Campanians the city of the Catanians as their dwellingplace. After this he advanced to Leontini with his entire armed strength and laid siege to the city, and sending ambassadors to the inhabitants, he ordered them to hand over their city and enjoy citizenship in Syracuse. The Leontines, expecting that they would receive no help and reflecting on the fate of the Naxians and Catanians, were struck with terror in fear that they would suffer the same misfortune. Consequently, yielding to the exigency of the moment, they assented to the proposal, left their city, and removed to Syracuse.

16. Archonides, the leader of Herbitê, after the citizen-body of the Herbitaeans had concluded peace with Dionysius, determined to found a city. For he had not only many mercenaries but also a mixed throng who had streamed into the city in connection with the war against Dionysius; and many of the destitute among the Herbitaeans had promised him to

2 γέλλοντο αὐτῷ κοινωνήσειν τῆς ἀποικίας. ἀναλαβών οὖν τὸ συνδραμὸν¹ πληθός κατελάβετό τινα τῶν λόφων ὀκτώ σταδίους ἀπέχοντα τῆς θαλάττης, έν ῷ πόλιν ἔκτισεν Ἅλαισαν οὐσῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν όμωνύμων, 'Αρχωνίδιον 3 αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσεν ἀφ' έαυτοῦ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ύστερον χρόνοις της πόλεως πολλήν ἐπίδοσιν λαμβανούσης διά τε τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης ἐργασίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων δοθεῖσαν ἀτέλειαν, οἰ Αλαισινοι την των Έρβιταίων συγγένειαν απηρνήσαντο, αισχρον ήγουμενοι καταδεεστέρας πόλεως 4 έαυτους ἀποίκους νομίζεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἀμφοτέραις συγγένειαι τε πλείονες δια-μένουσι καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ Απολλώνιον θυσίας τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔθεσι διοικοῦσιν. τινὲς δέ φασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐκτίσθαι τὴν "Αλαισαν, καθ' ον καιρον 'Ιμίλκων την πρός τον Διονύσιον εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο. 5 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Βηίους² πόλεμος συνέστη διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τότε πρώτως επεψηφίσαντο 'Ρωμαΐοι τοῖς στρατιώταις καθ'

έκαστον ένιαυτον είς εφόδια διδόναι χρήματα. έξεπολιόρκησαν δὲ καὶ τὴν Οὐόλσκων πόλιν, ἡ τότε μεν "Ανξωρ εκαλείτο, νῦν δ' ονομάζεται Ταρρα-

κίνη.

17. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Μικίων, ἐν δὲ τῆ 'Ρώμη τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν μετέλαβον χιλίαρχοι τρεῖς, Τίτος Κοΐντιος καὶ Γάιος Ἰούλιος καὶ Αὖλος Μαμίλος. τούτων δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς λαβόντων οἱ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν οἰκοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους στασιάσαντες ἐφυγάδευ-2 σαν τῶν πολιτῶν τινας. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες μέχρι μέν 1 So Dindorf: συνεδρεῦον. <sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: Bosovs.

# BOOK XIV. 16. 1-17. 2

join in the colony. Consequently, taking the multi- 403 B.C. tude of refugees, he occupied a hill lying eight stades from the sea, on which he founded the city of Halaesa; and since there were other cities of Sicily with the same name, he called it Halaesa Archonidion after himself. When, in later times, the city grew greatly both because of the trade by sea and because the Romans exempted it from tribute, the Halaesians denied their kinship with the Herbitaeans, holding it a disgrace to be deemed colonists of an inferior city. Nevertheless, up to the present time numerous ties of relationships are to be found among both peoples, and they administer their sacrifices at the Temple of Apollo with the same routine. But there are those who state that Halaesa was founded by the Carthaginians at the time when Himilton concluded his peace with Dionysius.

In Italy a war arose between the Romans and the people of Veii for the following reasons.<sup>1</sup> In this campaign the Romans voted for the first time to give annual pay to the soldiers for their service. They also reduced by siege the city of the Volsci which was called at that time Anxor <sup>2</sup> but now has the name Tarracinê.

17. At the close of the year Micion was archon in 402 B.O. Athens, and in Rome three military tribunes took over the consular magistracy, Titus Quinctius, Gaius Julius, and Aulus Mamilus. After these magistrates had entered office, the inhabitants of Oropus fell into civil strife and exiled some of their citizens. For a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is probably a lacuna here. The "reasons" are given in Livy, 4. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> τοιαύτας] Vogel suggests τινας. <sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: πρώτοις.

τινος δι' έαυτων ἐπεβάλοντο κατελθεῖν, οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν, ἔπεισαν
τοὺς Θηβαίους ἑαυτοῖς συναποστεῖλαι δύναμιν.
3 Θηβαῖοι δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ωρωπίους
καὶ κυριεύσαντες τῆς πόλεως, μετώκισαν ἀπὸ τῆς
θαλάττης αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπτὰ σταδίους, καὶ χρόνους
μέν τινας εἴασαν καθ' αὐτοὺς πολιτεύεσθαι, μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα δόντες πολιτείαν τὴν χώραν Βοιωτίαν
ἐποιήσαντο.

4 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἄλλα μέν πλείονα τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἐνεκάλουν, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι Ἦνιν¹ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα διεκώλυσαν τῷ θεῷ θῦσαι καὶ διότι τοῖς 'Ολυμπίοις Λακεδαιμονίους 5 οὐκ εἴασαν ἀγωνίσασθαι. διόπερ κρίναντες πρός αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, δέκα πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν, πρώτον μέν κελεύοντες² τὰς περιοίκους πόλεις έᾶν αὐτονόμους είναι, ἔπειτα τὰς δαπάνας τοῦ πρὸς 'Αθηναίους πολέμου κατὰ' τὸ ἐπιβάλλον 6 αὐτοῖς μέρος ἀπήτουν. ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττον προφάσεις αύτοις εὐλόγους καὶ πιθανάς ἀρχὰς ζητοῦντες πολέμου. οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν 'Ηλείων, άλλά καὶ προσεγκαλούντων ὅτι τοὺς Ελληνας καταδουλούνται, τον έτερον των βασιλέων Παυσανίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ στρατιωτῶν 7 τετρακισχιλίων. συνηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῶ πολλοί στρατιώται καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων σχεδὸν ἁπάντων πλήν Βοιωτών καὶ Κορινθίων οὖτοι δὲ δυσ-54

time the exiles undertook to effect their return by 402 B.O. their own resources, but finding themselves unable to carry through their purpose, they persuaded the Thebans to send an army to assist them. The Thebans took the field against the Oropians, and becoming masters of the city, resettled the inhabitants some seven stades from the sea; and for some time they allowed them to have their own government, but after this they gave them Theban citizenship and attached their territory to Boeotia.

While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians brought a number of charges against the Eleians, the most serious being that they had prevented Agis, their king, from offering sacrifices to the god 1 and that they had not allowed the Lacedaemonians to compete in the Olympic Games. Consequently, having decided to wage war on the Eleians, they dispatched ten ambassadors to them, ordering them, in the first place, to allow their subject cities to be independent, and after that they demanded of them their quota of the cost of the war against the Athenians. This they did in quest of specious pretexts for themselves and of plausible openings for war. When the Eleians not only paid no heed to them but even accused them besides of enslaving the Greeks, they dispatched Pausanias, the other of their two kings, against them with four thousand soldiers. He was accompanied by many soldiers also from practically all the allies except the Bocotians and Corinthians. They, being offended

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Olympian Zeus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> <sup>\*</sup>Λγιν Reiske (Xen. Hell. 3. 2. 22): Παυσανίαν.
<sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: κελεύοντας.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> κατά Rhodoman : καὶ κατά.

χεραίνοντες τοις ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων πραττομένοις

οὐ μετέσχον τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡλιν στρατείας.

'Ο δ' οὖν Παυσανίας κατ' ἔφοδον τῆς 'Αρκαδίας έμβαλών είς την "Ηλιν Λασίωνα μέν φρούριον εὐθὺς εἶλεν ἐξ ἐφόδου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τῆς ᾿Ακρωρείας ἀγαγὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον τέτταρας πόλεις προσηγάγετο, Θραῖστον, "Αλιον, Ἐπιτά- 9 λιον, ' Ὁποῦντα. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῆ Πύλῳ προσστρατοπεδεύσας² εὐθὺς καὶ τοῦτο το χωρίον παρέλαβεν, ἀπέχον τῆς "Ηλιδος σταδίους ώς έβδομήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν πορευθεὶς τὴν ٵλιν ἐπὶ τῶν πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λόφων κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. 'Ηλείοι δὲ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἦσαν παρ' Λίτωλῶν είληφότες συμμάχους επιλέκτους ἄνδρας χιλίους, οίς τον περί το γυμνάσιον τόπον δεδώκεισαν φυ-10 λάττειν. τοῦ δὲ Παυσανίου τοῦτον τὸν τόπον πρώτον ἐπιχειρήσαντος πολιορκεῖν καταπεφρονηκότως, ώς οὐδέποτ' ἂν τολμησάντων Ἡλείων ἐπεξελθεῖν, έξαίφνης οι τε Αιτωλοί και πολλοί των πολιτών έκχυθέντες έκ της πόλεως κατεπλήξαντο τους Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σχεδὸν τριάκοντα αὐτῶν κατέ-11 βαλον. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας τότε μὲν ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' όρῶν ἐργώδη τὴν ἄλωσιν οδσαν, ἐπήει πορθων καὶ φθείρων τὴν χώραν ἱερὰν

12 οὖσαν, καὶ παμπληθεῖς ὠφελείας ἤθροισεν. ἤδη δέ τοῦ χειμώνος συνεγγίζοντος κατά μέν τὴν Ήλείαν ἐτείχισε φρούρια, καὶ τὴν ἱκανὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατέλιπε δύναμιν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς ὑπολοίπου στρατιάς έν Δύμη παρεχείμασεν.

18. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σικελών τύραννος, έπειδή τὰ κατὰ τὴν δυναστείαν αὐτῷ προεχώρει κατὰ γνώμην, διενοείτο μὲν πρὸς

#### BOOK XIV. 17. 7—18. 1

by the proceedings of the Lacedaemonians, took no 402 B.C.

part in the campaign against Elis.

Pausanias, then, entered Elis by way of Arcadia and straightway took the outpost of Lasion at the first assault; then, leading his army through Acroreia, he won to his side the four cities of Thraestus, Halium, Epitalium, and Opus. Moving thence, he straightway encamped near Pylus and took this place, which was about seventy stades from Elis. After this, advancing to Elis proper, he pitched his camp on the hills across the river. A short time before this the Eleians had got from the Aetolians a thousand élite troops to help them, to whom they had given the region about the gymnasion to guard. When Pausanias first of all started to lay siege to this place, and in a careless manner, not supposing that the Eleians would ever dare to make a sortie against him, suddenly both the Actolians and many of the citizens, pouring forth from the city, struck terror into the Lacedaemonians and slew some thirty of them. At the time Pausanias raised the siege, but after this, since he saw that the city would be hard to take, he traversed its territory, laying it waste and plundering it, even though it was sacred soil, and gathered great stores of booty. Since the winter was already at hand, he built walled outposts in Elis and left adequate forces in them, and himself passed the winter with the rest of the army in Dymê.

18. In Sicily Dionysius, the tyrant of the Siceli, <sup>2</sup> 401 B.C. since his government was making satisfactory progress, determined to make war upon the Cartha-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Peneus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note 1, p. 25.

¹ 'Επιτάλιον Wesseling: Εὐπάγιον. ² So Eichstädt: προστρατοπεδεύσας.

Καρχηδονίους ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον οὔπω δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαίς ίκανδς ών την μέν προαίρεσιν ταύτην έκρυπτε, πρός δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας κινδύνους τὰ 2 χρήσιμα διώκει. είδως οὖν κατά τὸν ᾿Αττικόν πόλεμον τὴν πόλιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀποτετείχισμένην, εὐλαβεῖτο μήποτε παραπλησίοις έλαττώμασι περιπεσών ἀποκλεισθη της είς την χώραν εξόδου εὐφυῶς γὰρ εώρα κειμένας τὰς καλουμένας Ἐπιπολάς κατά τῆς πόλεως τῶν Συ-3 ρακοσίων. διόπερ τους άρχιτέκτονας παραλαβών, άπὸ τῆς τούτων γνώμης ἔκρινε δεῖν τειχίσαι τὰς Έπιπολάς, ή νῦν τὸ πρὸς τοῖς Έξαπύλοις ὑπάρχει 4 τείχος. δ γάρ τόπος οὖτος τετραμμένος ἐστὶ πρὸς άρκτον, υπόκρημνος δε πας και δια την τραχύτητα δυσπρόσοδος έκ τῶν ἔξωθεν μερῶν. βουλόμενος οὖν ταχεῖαν τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν τειχῶν γίνεσθαι, τον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὅχλον ἤθροισεν, ἐξ οῦ τοὺς εὐθέτους ἄνδρας ἐπιλέξας εἰς έξακισμυρίους ἐπι-5 διείλε τούτοις τον τειχιζόμενον τόπον. καθ' έκαστον μέν οὖν στάδιον ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐπέστησε, κατὰ δὲ πλέθρον ἐπέταξεν οἰκοδόμους, καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ύπηρετήσοντας έκ των ίδιωτων είς εκαστον πλέθρον διακοσίους. χωρίς δέ τούτων έτεροι παμπληθείς τον αριθμον έτεμνον τον ανέργαστον λίθον. έξακισχίλια δὲ ζεύγη βοῶν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον τόπον 6 παρεκόμιζεν. ή δε των έργαζομένων πολυχειρία πολλήν παρείχετο τοῖς θεωμένοις κατάπληξιν, άπάντων σπευδόντων τελέσαι το τεταγμένον. δ γαρ Διονύσιος την προθυμίαν τοῦ πλήθους ἐκκα-

<sup>1</sup> ἐλευθέρους after ἄνδρας omitted FJKM, Dindorf, Vogel.

#### BOOK XIV. 18, 1-6

ginians; but being not yet sufficiently prepared, he 401 B.C. concealed this purpose of his while making the necessary preparations for the coming encounters. And realizing that in the war with Athens the city had been blocked off by a wall that ran from the sea to the sea, he took care that he should never, where caught at a similar disadvantage, be cut off from contact with the countryside; for he saw that the site of Epipolae, as it is called, naturally commanded the city of the Syracusans. Sending, therefore, for his master-builders, in accord with their advice he decided that he must fortify Epipolae at the point where there stands now the Wall with the Six Gates. For this place, which faces north, is precipitous in its entirety, and so steep that access is hardly to be won from the outside. Wishing to complete the building of the walls rapidly, he gathered the peasants from the countryside, from whom he selected some sixty thousand capable men and parcelled out to them the space to be walled. For each stade he appointed a master-builder and for each plethron 2 a mason, and the labourers from the common people assigned to the task numbered two hundred for each plethron. Besides these, other workers, a multitude in number, quarried out the rough stone, and six thousand yoke of oxen brought it to the appointed place. And the united labour of so many workers struck the watchers with great amazement, since all were zealous to complete the task assigned them. For Dionysius, in order to excite the enthusiasm of the multitude.

<sup>1</sup> See Book 13. 7. <sup>2</sup> The sixth of a stade, roughly one hundred feet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: παρεσκεύαζεν.

λούμενος μεγάλας προέθηκε δωρεάς τοις προτερήσασι, δίχα μεν τοις άρχιτέκτοσι, χωρίς δε τοις οἰκοδόμοις καὶ πάλιν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων προσήδρευε τὰς ἡμέρας ὅλας τοῖς ἔργοις, ἐπὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπιφαινόμενος καὶ 7 τοῖς κακοπαθοῦσιν αἰεὶ προσλαμβάνων. καθόλου δ' ἀποθέμενος τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς βάρος ἰδιώτην αὐτὸν ἀπεδείκνυε, καὶ τοῖς βαρυτάτοις τῶν ἔργων προσιστάμενος ύπέμενε την αὐτην τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοπάθειαν, ώστε πολλή μεν έρις εγίνετο καὶ τοῖς τῆς ημέρας έργοις ένιοι προσετίθεσαν καὶ μέρη τών νυκτων· τοσαύτη σπουδή τοις πλήθεσιν ένεπεπτώ-8 κει. διόπερ ανελπίστως εν ήμεραις είκοσι τέλος έσχε τὸ τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν μῆκος κατασκευασθὲν ἐπὶ σταδίους τριάκοντα, τὸ δὲ ύψος σύμμετρον, ώστε τῷ τοίχῳ τῆς ὀχυρότητος προσγενομένης ἀνάλωτον ἐκ βίας ὑπάρξαι· τοῖς γὰρ πύργοις διείληπτο πυκνοῖς καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, ἔκ τε λίθων ὠκοδόμητο³ τετραπέδων φιλοτίμως συνειργασμένων.

19. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἢν ἄρχων 'Εξαίνετος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβον χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος, Σπόριος Ναύτιος, Γάιος Οὐαλέ-2 ριος, Μάνιος Σέργιος. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Κῦρος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττης σατραπειῶν ἡγούμενος διενοεῖτο μὲν πάλαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν 'Αρταξέρξην' ἢν γὰρ ὁ νεανίσκος φρονήματος πλήρης καὶ προθυμίαν ἔχων οὐκ ἄπρακτον εἰς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: προιστάμενος. 2 προσγενομένης Reiske: γενομένης. 3 So Eichstädt: ψκοδόμηντο.

offered valuable gifts to such as finished first, special 401 B.C. ones for the master-builders, and still others for the masons and in turn for the common labourers; and he in person, together with his friends, oversaw the work through all the days required, visiting every section and ever lending a hand to the toilers. Speaking generally, he laid aside the dignity of his office and reduced himself to the ranks. Putting his hands to the hardest tasks, he endured the same toil as the other workers, so that great rivalry was engendered and some added even a part of the night to the day's labour, such eagerness had infected the multitude for the task. As a result, contrary to expectation, the wall was brought to completion in twenty days. It was thirty stades in length and of corresponding height, and the added strength of the wall made it impregnable to assault; for there were lofty towers at frequent intervals and it was constructed of stones four feet long and carefully joined.

19. At the close of the year Exacenetus was archon in Athens, and in Rome six military tribunes took over the consular magistracy, Publius Cornelius, Caeso Fabius, Spurius Nautius, Gaius Valerius, and Manius Sergius.<sup>1</sup> At this time Cyrus, who was commander of the satrapies on the sea,<sup>2</sup> had been planning for a long while to lead an army against his brother Artaxerxes; for the young man was full of ambition and had a keenness for the encounters of war that

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  Several manuscripts complete the number by adding "and Junius Lucullus."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See chap. 12. 8 and note.

3 κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγῶνας. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ μισθοφόρων πληθος ἱκανὸν συνηκτο καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν εὐτρέπιστο, τοῖς μὲν πληθεσιν οὐκ ἐδήλου τἀληθές, ἔφασκε δ' εἰς Κιλικίαν ἀνάγειν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ

4 τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας τοῦ βασιλέως τυράννους. ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πρεσβευτὰς
τοὺς ἀνανεωσομένους τὰς κατὰ τὸν πρὸς ᾿Αθηναίους
πόλεμον εὖεργεσίας καὶ παρακαλέσοντας ἐαυτῷ
συμμαχεῖν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, νομίσαντες αὐτοῖς συνοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἔγνωσαν τῷ Κύρῳ
βοηθεῖν, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς
πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῶν ναύαρχον Σάμον ὀνομαζόμενον,

5 ὅπως ὅ τι ἀν κελεύη ὁ Κὖρος πράττη. ὁ δὲ Σάμος εἶχε μὲν τριήρεις εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε, μεθ' ὧν πλεύσας εἰς εκρεσον πρὸς τὸν Κύρου ναύαρχον ἔτοιμος ἢν αὐτῷ πάντα συμπράττειν. ἐξέπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πεζοὺς στρατιώτας ὀκτακοσίους, ἡγεμόνα Χειρίσοφον καταστήσαντες. ἀφηγεῖτο δὲ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου Ταμώς, ἔχων τριήρεις πεντήκοντα πολυτελῶς ἐξηρτυμένας¹ καὶ καταπλευσάντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνήχθησαν οἱ στόλοι τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπὶ Κιλικίας ποιούμενοι.

6 Κῦρος δὲ τούς τε ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ασίας στρατολογηθέντας καὶ μισθοφόρους μυρίους τρισχιλίους ἀθροίσας εἰς Σάρδεις, Λυδίας μὲν καὶ Φρυγίας κατέστησεν ἐπιμελητὰς Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ συγγενεῖς, 'Ιωνίας δὲ καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων Ταμώ, φίλον μὲν ὅντα πιστόν, τὸ δὲ γένος ὑπάρχοντα Μεμφίτην αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προῆγεν ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ Πισιδίας, διαδιδοὺς λόγον ὅτι τινὲς τῶν ἐκεῖ κατοικούντων

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: ἐξηρτισμένας.

was not unrewarded. When an adequate force of 401 B.C. mercenaries had been collected for him and all preparations for the campaign had been completed, he did not reveal the truth to the troops, but kept asserting that he was leading the army to Cilicia against the despots who were in rebellion against the King. He also dispatched ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians to recall to their minds the services he had rendered in their war against the Athenians and to urge them to join him as allies. The Lacedaemonians, thinking that the war would be to their advantage, decided to give aid to Cyrus and forthwith sent ambassadors to their admiral, named Samus,1 with instructions that he should carry out whatever Cyrus ordered. Samus had twenty-five triremes, and with these he sailed to Ephesus to Cyrus' admiral and was ready to co-operate with him in every respect. They also sent eight hundred infantry, giving the command to Cheirisophus. The commander of the barbarian fleet was Tamos, who had fifty triremes which had been fitted out at great expense; and after the Lacedaemonians had arrived, the fleets put out to sea, following a course for Cilicia.

Cyrus, after gathering to Sardis both the levies of Asia and thirteen thousand mercenaries, appointed Persians of his kindred to be governors of Lydia and Phrygia, but of Ionia, Aeolis, and the neighouring territories, his trusted friend Tamōs, who was a native of Memphis; then he with his army advanced in the direction of Cilicia and Pisidia, spreading the report that certain peoples of those regions were in revolt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Samius in Xenophon, Hell. 3. 1. 1.

7 ἀφεστήκασιν. εἶχε δὲ τοὺς ἄπαντας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ᾿Ασίας ἐπτακισμυρίους, ὧν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς τρισχίλιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος 8 μισθοφόρους μυρίους τρισχιλίους. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου χωρὶς ᾿Αχαιῶν Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, τῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ Βοιωτίας Πρόξενος Θηβαῖος, τῶν δ᾽ ᾿Αχαιῶν Σωκράτης ᾿Αχαιός, τῶν δ᾽ ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας Μένων ὁ Λαρισσαῖος. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὰς μὲν κατὰ λεπτὸν ἡγεμονίας εἶχον Πέρσαι, τῶν δὲ συμπάντων αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο Κῦρος, ὃς τοῖς μὲν ἡγεμόσιν ἐδεδηλώκει τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνάβασιν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔκρυπτεν, εὐλαβούμενος μήποτε διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς στρατείας ἐγκαταλίπῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν. διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν προορώμενος τὸ μέλλον ἐξεθεράπευσε τοὺς στρατιώτας, κοινὸν ἑαυτὸν παρεγόμενος καὶ

δαψιλεῖς ἀγορὰς έτοιμάζων.

20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διῆλθε Λυδίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν, ἔτι δὲ Καππαδοκίας¹ τὰ συνορίζοντα, παρεγενήθη πρὸς τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῖς Κιλικίαις Πύλαις εἰσβολήν· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ στενὴ καὶ παράκρημνος ἐπὶ σταδίους μὲν εἴκοσι παρατείνουσα, πλησίον δ' αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὅρη μεγάλα καὶ δυσπρόσιτα· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τείχη κατατείνει μέχρι τῆς όδοῦ, καθ' ἡν ἐνῳκοδόμηνται πύλαι. διεξαγαγὼν δὲ διὰ τούτων τὴν δύναμιν εἰσέβαλεν εἴς τι πεδίον² τῶν κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν οὐδενὸς τῷ κάλλει λειπόμενονδι' οῦ πορευθεὶς εἰς Ταρσόν, μεγίστην τῶν ἐν Κιλικία πόλεων, ταχέως αὐτῆς ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.

From Asia he had in all seventy thousand troops, of 401 B.C. whom three thousand were cavalry, and from the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece thirteen thousand mercenaries. The soldiers from the Peloponnesus, with the exception of the Achaeans, were commanded by Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, those from Boeotia by Proxenus the Theban, the Achaeans by Socrates the Achaean, and those from Thessalv by Menon of Larissa. The officers of the barbarians. in minor commands, were Persians, and of the whole army Cyrus himself was commander-in-chief. He had disclosed to the commanders that he was marching against his brother, but he kept this hid from the troops for fear that they would leave his enterprise stranded because of the scale of his expedition. Consequently along the march, by way of providing for the coming occasion, he curried favour with the troops by affability and by providing abundant supplies of provisions.

20. After Cyrus had traversed Lydia and Phrygia as well as the regions bordering on Cappadocia, he arrived at the boundaries of Cilicia and the entrance at the Cilician Gates. This pass is narrow and precipitous, twenty stades in length, and bordering it on both sides are exceedingly high and inaccessible mountains; and walls stretch down on each side from the mountains as far as the roadway, where gates have been built across it. Leading his army through these gates, Cyrus entered a plain which in beauty yields to no plain in Asia, and through which he advanced to Tarsus, the largest city of Cilicia, which

2 τι πεδίον Stephanus: τενέβιον.

¹ Καππαδοκίας Wurm; καὶ τὰ (οτ κατὰ) τῆς Κιλικίας P, καὶ κατὰ τῆς Κιλ. FJKM, καὶ τὰ τῆς Κιλ. cet.

Συέννεσις δ' δ τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύων ώς ἤκουσε τὸ μένεθος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως, εἰς ἀπο-3 ρίαν πολλήν ένέπιπτεν, οὐκ ὢν ἀξιόμαγος. μεταπεμπομένου δ' αὐτὸν Κύρου καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντος έπορεύθη πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ πολέμου πυθόμενος ώμολόγησε συμμαχήσειν έπὶ τὸν 'Αρταξέρξην, καὶ τὸν ἔνα τῶν υίῶν τῷ Κύρω συνεξαπέστειλεν, αὐτῶ δοὺς τῶν Κιλίκων τοὺς ίκανοὺς συστρατευσομένους πανούργος γάρ ὢν τὴν φύσιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλον ἀρτισάμενος, τὸν έτερον των υίων έξέπεμψε λάθρα πρός τον βασιλέα, δηλώσοντα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον ἡθροισμένας καὶ διότι τῆς μὲν συμμαχίας δι' ἀνάγκην τῷ Κύρω μετέχει, τῆ δ' εὐνοία προσμένων, αν καιρός γένηται, καταλιπών ἐκεῖνον τῶ βασιλεῖ συστρατεύσεσθαι.

4 Κύρος δ' εἴκοσι μὲν ἡμέρας ἐν Ταρσῷ τὴν δύναμιν ἀνέλαβε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναζευγνύντος αὐτοῦ, τὸ πλῆθος ὑπώπτευσε τὴν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αρταξερξην γίνεσθαι. ἀναλογιζόμενος δὲ ἔκαστος τὰ μήκη τῶν όδῶν καὶ τὰ πλήθη τῶν πολεμίων ἐθνῶν, δι' ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἢν τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, τελέως ἢγωνία· διαβεβόητο γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἔως Βάκτρων όδὸς οὖσα στρατοπέδῳ τετραμήνου, δύναμις δ' ἠθροισμένη τῷ βασιλεῖ πλείω τῶν τετταράκοντα μυριάδων. διὸ δὴ περιδεεῖς ὄντες ἐκεῖνοι ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντες ἐνεχείρησαν ἀναιρεῖν ὡς προδότας ἑαυτῶν ὄντας. τοῦ δὲ Κύρου δεομένου πάντων, καὶ διαβεβαιουμένου τὴν στρα-

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: στρατευσομένους.

he speedily mastered. When Syennesis, the lord of 401 B.C. Cilicia, heard of the great size of the hostile army, he was at a great loss, since he was no match for it in battle. When he was summoned to Cyrus' presence and had been given pledges, he went to him, and on learning the truth about the war he agreed to join him as an ally against Artaxerxes; and he sent one of his two sons along with Cyrus, giving him also a strong contingent of Cilicians for his army. Syennesis, being by nature unscrupulous and having adjusted himself to the uncertainty of Fortune, had dispatched his other son secretly to the King to reveal to him the armaments that had been gathered against him and to assure him that he took the part of Cyrus out of necessity, but that he was still faithful to the King and, when the opportunity arose, would desert Cyrus and join the army of the King.

Cyrus rested his army twenty days in Tarsus, and after this, when he would have resumed the march, the troops suspected that the campaign was against Artaxerxes. And as each man reckoned up the length of the distances entailed and the multitude of hostile peoples through whom they would have to pass, he was filled with the deepest anxiety; for the word had got about that it was a four months' march for an army to Bactria and that a force of more than four hundred thousand soldiers had been mustered for the King. Consequently the soldiers became most fearful and vexed, and in anger at their commanders they attempted to kill them on the ground that the commanders had betrayed them. But when Cyrus entreated one and all of them and assured them

<sup>2</sup> So Wurm for πρὸς ἐκεῖνον of MSS.; πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποκλίνων Dindorf, π. ἐ. ρέπει καὶ (οr κἂν) Vogel.

τιὰν ἀνάγειν οὐκ ἐπ' 'Αρταξέρξην, ἀλλ' ἐπί τινα σατράπην τῆς Συρίας, ἐπείσθησαν οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ λαβόντες πλείω μισθὸν ἀποκατέστησαν εἰς

τὴν έξ άρχης εὔνοιαν.

21. Ο δὲ Κῦρος ἐπειδὴ διῆλθε τὴν Κιλικίαν, παρεγενήθη πρὸς πόλιν Ἰσσόν, ἐπὶ θαλάττης μὲν κειμένην, ἐσχάτην δ' οὖσαν τῆς Κιλικίας. κατ-έπλευσε δ' εἰς αὐτὴν περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ὁ στόλος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες ἐξέβησαν καὶ συντυχόντες τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν ἀπήγγειλαν, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Χειρισόφου πεζοὺς ὀκτακοσίους ἐκβιβάσαντες παρέδωκαν. τούτους δὲ προσεποιοῦντο μὲν οἱ φίλοι τοῦ Κύρου πέμψαι μισθοφόρους, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἐφόρων γνώμης ἄπαντ' ἐπράττετο· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φανερὸνοὔπω τὸν πόλεμον ἐπανηροῦντο, κατέκρυπτον δὲ τὴν προαίρεσιν, ἐπιτηροῦντες τὴν ῥοπὴν τοῦ πολέμου.

Ο δὲ Κῦρος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Συρίας τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους ἐκέλευσε συμπαραπλεῖν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ναυσίν. ὡς δ' ἢλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς Πύλας καλουμένας καὶ τὸν τόπον εὖρεν ἔρημον τῶν φυλαττόντων, περιχαρὴς ἢν ἢγωνία γὰρ σφόδρα, μή τινες αὐτὰς εἶεν προκατειλημμένοι. ἔστι δὲ ἡ φύσις τοῦ τόπου στενὴ καὶ παράκρημνος, ὥστε δι' ὀλίγων ράδίως παραφυλάττεσθαι. ὄρη γὰρ πλησίον ἀλλήλων κεῖται, τὸ μὲν τραχὺ καὶ κρημνοὺς ἔχον ἀξιολόγους, ἐπ' αὐτῆς δ' ἄρχεται τῆς όδοῦ ἔτερον ὄρος μέγιστον τῶν

<sup>1</sup> και after Κιλικίαν deleted by Wurm.
2 κατέπλευσε δ' Bezzel: καταπλεύσας.

that he was leading the army, not against Artaxerxes, 401 B.C. but against a certain satrap of Syria, the soldiers yielded, and when they had received an increase in

pay, they resumed their f ... 'le: 'o him.

21. As Cyrus marched in the feet of the arrived at Issus, which lies on the sea and is the last city of Cilicia. At the same time the fleet of the Lacedaemonians also put in at the city, and the commanders went ashore, met with Cyrus, and reported the goodwill of the Spartans toward him; and they disembarked and turned over to him the eight hundred infantry under the command of Cheirisophus. The pretence was that these mercenaries were sent by the friends of Cyrus, but in fact everything was done with the consent of the ephors. The Lacedaemonians had not yet openly entered upon the war, but were concealing their purpose, awaiting the turn of the war.

Cyrus set out with his army, travelling toward Syria, and ordered the admirals to accompany him by sea with all the ships. When he arrived at the Gates, as they are called, and found the place clear of guards, he was elated, for he was greatly concerned lest troops might have occupied them before his arrival. The place is narrow and precipitous in character, so that it can be easily guarded by few troops. For two mountains lie against each other, the one jagged and with great crags, and the other beginning right at the road itself, and it is the largest in those

### Between Cilicia and Syria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> καὶ οἱ στρατηγοῦντες added by Bezzel, who also deletes

<sup>:</sup> μέρος.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>b</sup> μέγιστον Vogel: μία δ' ἐστίν.

περί τούς τόπους ἐκείνους, καὶ καλεῖται μὲν "Αμανος, παρεκτείνει δὲ παρὰ τὴν Φοινίκην ὁ δ' άνὰ μέσον τόπος τῶν ὀρῶν, ὑπάρχων ὡς τριῶν σταδίων, παντελώς τετειχισμένος καὶ πύλας έχων 5 είς στενόν συγκλειομένας. διελθών οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ταύτας ἀκινδύνως, τὸν μὲν λοιπὸν στόλον ἀπέστειλεν ἀνακάμψαι εἰς "Εφεσον οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτῷ χρήσιμος ήν μέλλοντι διά μεσογείου την πορείαν ποιείσθαι. όδοιπορήσας δ' ήμέρας είκοσι παρεγενήθη πρὸς Θάψακον πόλιν, ἡ κεῖται παρὰ τὸν 6 ποταμόν τον Ευφράτην. ἐνταῦθα δὲ πένθ' ἡμέρας διατρίψας, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξιδιοποιησάμενος ταῖς τε των ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐκ των προνομών ωφελείαις, συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν άλήθειαν της στρατείας έδήλωσεν. προσάντως δέ δεξαμένων τὸν λόγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἐδεῖτο πάντων μη καταλιπείν έαυτόν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἄλλας τε μεγάλας δωρεὰς καὶ ὅτι παραγενομένοις αὐτοῖς² είς Βαβυλώνα κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον δώσει πέντε μνᾶς ἀργυρίου. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ταῖς ἐλπίσι 7 μετεωρισθέντες ἐπείσθησαν ἀκολουθεῖν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ώς διέβη τῆ δυνάμει τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἠπείγετο κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς όδοιπορών, καὶ παραγενηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς όρους της Βαβυλωνίας ανελάμβανε την δύναμιν.

22. 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς 'Αρταξέρξης καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἢν παρὰ Φαρναβάζου πεπυσμένος ὅτι στρατόπεδον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀθροίζει λάθρα Κῦρος, καὶ τότε δὴ πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνάβασιν μετεπέμπετο τὰς παν-2 ταχόθεν δυνάμεις εἰς 'Εκβάτανα τῆς Μηδίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἴ τε παρ' Ἰνδῶν καί τινων ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καθ-

regions, bearing the name Amanus and extending 401 B.C. along Phoenicia; and the space between the mountains, some three stades in length, has walls running its whole length and gates closed to make a narrow passage. Now, after passing through the Gates without a fight, Cyrus sent off that part of the fleet that was still with him to make the return voyage to Ephesus, since it was of no further use to him now that he would be travelling inland. After a march of twenty days he arrived at the city of Thapsacus, which lies on the Euphrates River. Here he remained five days, and after winning the army to himself both by abundant supplies and by booty from foraging, he summoned it to an assembly and disclosed the truth about his campaign. When the soldiers received his words unfavourably, he besought them, one and all, not to leave him in the lurch, promising, besides other great rewards, that, when they came to Babylon, he would give every man of them five minas of silver.1 The soldiers, accordingly, soaring in their expectations, were prevailed upon to follow When Cyrus crossed the Euphrates with his army, he pressed on the way without making any halt, and as soon as he reached the borders of Babylonia he rested his troops.

22. King Artaxerxes had learned some time before from Pharnabazus that Cyrus was secretly collecting an army to lead against him, and when he now learned that he was on the march, he summoned his armaments from every place to Ecbatana in Media. When the contingents from the Indians and certain other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some ninety dollars.

 <sup>1 \*</sup>Λμανος Wesseling: Λίβανος.
 2 So Sintenis: παραγενόμενος αὐτός.

υστέρουν διὰ τὸ μακρὰν ἀφεστάναι τοὺς τόπους, μετά της συναχθείσης στρατιάς ώρμησεν απαντήσων τῷ Κύρῳ. είχε δὲ τοὺς ἄπαντας στρατιώτας σύν ίππεῦσιν οὐκ ἐλάττους τετταράκοντα μυριάδων, 3 καθά φησιν "Εφορος. ώς δ' είς το Βαβυλώνιον ήκε πεδίον, παρά τον Ευφράτην στρατοπεδείαν έβάλετο, διανοούμενος εν ταύτη καταλιπεῖν τὴν ἀποσκευήν. έπυνθάνετο γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μακρὰν ὄντας, καὶ τὸ παράβολον αὐτῶν τῆς τόλμης ὑπώπτευεν. 4 ορύξας οὖν τάφρον τὸ μὲν πλάτος ποδῶν έξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ βάθος ποδῶν δέκα, περιέθηκε κύκλω τὰς συνακολουθούσας άρμαμάξας καθαπερεί τείχος. καταλιπών δ' εν τη παρεμβολή την αποσκευήν και τον άχρειον όχλον, επί μεν ταύτης ίκανην φυλακήν παρέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εὔζωνον προαγαγών ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγγὺς ὑπάρχουσιν.

5 'Ο δὲ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε προϊοῦσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιάν, εὐθὺς εἰς τάξεις κατέστησε τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον. τὸ μὲν οὖν δεξιὸν κέρας παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην παρεκτεῖνον πεζοι μὲν ἐπεῖχον Λακεδαιμόνιοι καί τινες τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὧν ἀπάντων Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀφηγεῖτο· συνηγωνίζοντο δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ συναχθέντες ἀπὸ Παφλαγονίας, ὄντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους· τὸ δὲ θάτερον μέρος ἐπεῖχον οἱ τ᾽ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἱππέων περὶ χιλίους, ὧν εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμο-6 νίαν ᾿Αριδαῖος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐτέτακτο κατὰ μέσην τὴν φάλαγγα τοὺς κρατίστους ἔχων Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὡς μυρίους· προηγοῦντο δ᾽ αὐτῷ τῶν ἱππέων οἱ κάλλιστα διεσκευασμένοι χίλιοι, θώρακας ἔχοντες καὶ μαχαίρας

peoples were delayed because of the remoteness of 401 B.C. those regions, he set out to meet Cyrus with the army that had been assembled. He had in all not less than four hundred thousand soldiers, including cavalry, as Ephorus states. When he arrived on the plain of Babylonia, he pitched a camp beside the Euphrates, intending to leave his baggage in it; for he had learned that the enemy was not far distant and he was apprehensive of their reckless daring. Accordingly he dug a trench sixty feet wide and ten deep and encircled the camp with the baggage-waggons of his train like a wall. Having left behind in the camp the baggage and the attendants who were of no use in the battle, he appointed an adequate guard for it, and leading forward in person his army unencumbered, he advanced to meet the enemy which was near at hand.

When Cyrus saw the King's army advancing, he at once drew up his own force in battle order. The right wing, which rested on the Euphrates, was held by infantry composed of Lacedaemonians and some of the mercenaries, all under the command of Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, and helping him in the fight were the cavalry brought from Paphlagonia, more than a thousand. The left wing was held by the troops from Phrygia and Lydia and about a thousand of the cavalry, under the command of Aridaeus. Cyrus himself had taken a station in the centre of the battle-line, together with the choicest troops gathered from Persians and the other barbarians, about ten thousand strong; and leading the van before him were the finest-equipped cavalry, a thousand, armed with Greek breastplates and swords.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Palmer : μηκος.

7 Έλληνικάς. 'Αρταξέρξης δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς φάλαγγος πάσης ἔστησεν ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ὀλίγα· καὶ τῶν μὲν κεράτων Πέρσας ἡγεμόνας κατέστησε, κατὰ δὲ τὸ¹ μέσον αὐτὸς ἐτάχθη τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἔχων οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντα-

κισμυρίων.

23. 'Ως δὲ τρεῖς σχεδὸν σταδίους ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων αἱ δυνάμεις, οἱ μὲν "Ελληνες παιανίσαντες τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχῇ προῆγον· ὡς δ' ἐντὸς βέλους
ήσαν, ἔθεον κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδήν. παρηγγελκὼς
δ' αὐτοῖς Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἦν τοῦτο
πράττειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ διαστήματος πολλοῦ μὴ
τρέχειν ἤμελλεν ἀκεραίους τοῖς σώμασι τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους τηρήσειν εἰς τὴν μάχην, τὸ δ' ἐγγὺς
ὄντας δρόμω προσιέναι τὰς τῶν τόξων βολὰς καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν ὑπερπετεῖς ἐδόκει ποιήσειν.
2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἤγγισαν οἱ μετὰ Κύρου τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως
στρατοπέδω, τοσοῦτ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐρρίφη βελῶν
πλῆθος, ὅσον εἰκός ἐστιν ἐκ δυνάμεως ἐνεχθῆναι
συνεστώσης ἐκ μυριάδων τετταράκοντα. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ βραχὺν χρόνον παντελῶς τοῖς παλτοῖς διαγωνισάμενοι, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ χειρὸς ἤδη τὴν μάχην
συνίσταντο.

3 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μισθοφόρων εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συστάσεως ἐξέπληξαν τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους βαρβάρους τῆ τε τῶν ὅπλων λαμ-4 πρότητι καὶ ταῖς εὐχειρίαις. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν ὅπλοις τε μικροῖς ἐσκεπασμένοι καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταγμάτων ἔχοντες ψιλικά, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄπειροι τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον κινδύνων οἱ δ' Ἑλληνες διὰ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὸ

1 το omitted PA, Vogel.

Artaxerxes stationed before the length of his battle- 401 B.C. line scythe-bearing chariots in no small number, and the wings he put under command of Persians, while he himself took his position in the centre with no less than fifty thousand élite troops.

23. When the armies were about three stades apart, the Greeks struck up the paean and at first advanced at a slow pace, but as soon as they were within range of missiles they began to run at great speed.1 Clearchus the Lacedaemonian had given orders for them to do this, for by not running from a great distance he had in mind to keep the fighters fresh in body for the fray, while if they advanced on the run when at close quarters, this, it was thought, would cause the missiles shot by bows and other means to fly over their heads. When the troops with Cyrus approached the King's army, such a multitude of missiles was hurled upon them as one could expect to be discharged from a host of four hundred thousand. Nevertheless, they fought but an altogether short time with javelins and then for the remainder of the battle closed hand to hand.

The Lacedaemonians and the rest of the mercenaries at the very first contact struck terror into the opposing barbarians both by the splendour of their arms and by the skill they displayed. For the barbarians were protected by small shields and their divisions were for the most part equipped with light arms; and, furthermore, they were without trial in the perils of war, whereas the Greeks had been in constant battle by reason of the length of the Pelo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The battle is known as that of Cunaxa.

συνεχές εν μάχαις γεγενημένοι πολύ ταις έμπειρίαις διέφερον. διόπερ εὐθὺ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς καθ' αύτους εδίωκον, και πολλους των βαρβάρων ανήρουν. 5 κατά δὲ μέσην τὴν τάξιν ἔτυχε μὲν ἀμφοτέρους τους ύπερ της βασιλείας αγωνιζομένους ταχθήναι. διὸ καὶ κατανοήσαντες τὸ γεγενημένον ὥρμησαν έπ' άλλήλους, φιλοτιμούμενοι δι' έαυτῶν κρίναι τὴν μάχην συνήγαγε γάρ, ώς ἔοικεν, ή τύχη τὴν ὑπὲρ της ήγεμονίας τοις άδελφοις έριν είς μονομαχίαν καθάπερ είς ἀπομίμημα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ τραγωδουμένης της περί τον Έτεοκλέα και Πολυ-6 νείκην τόλμης. Κύρος μέν οὖν φθάσας ἐκ διαστήματος ηκόντισε, καὶ τυχών τοῦ βασιλέως ἔσφηλεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ου ταχέως οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν άρπάσαντες απήνεγκαν έκ της μάχης. καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ήγεμονίαν διαδεξάμενος Τισσαφέρνης ανήρ Πέρσης παρεκάλει τε τὰ πλήθη καὶ αὐτὸς λαμπρῶς ηγωνίζετο άναμαχόμενος δὲ τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα γεγονός ελάττωμα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπιφαινόμενος πολλούς ἀνήρει τῶν άντιτεταγμένων, ώστε την ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ πόρ-7 ρωθεν ύπάρχειν επίσημον. ό δε Κύρος επαρθείς τῷ προτερήματι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς μέσους ἐβιάσατο τούς πολεμίους, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀφειδῶς τῆ τόλμη χρώμενος πολλούς ἀνήρει, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προχειρότερον κινδυνεύων ύπό τινος των τυχόντων Περσών πληγείς έπικαίρως έπεσεν. τούτου δ' ἀναιρεθέντος οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὴν μάχην 76

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ponnesian War and were far superior in experience. 401 B.C. Consequently they straightway put their opponents to flight, pushed after them in pursuit, and slew many of the barbarians. In the centre of the lines, it so happened, were stationed both the men who were contending for the kingship. Consequently, becoming aware of this fact, they made at each other, being eagerly desirous of deciding the issue of the battle by their own hands; for Fortune, it appears, brought the rivalry of the brothers over the throne to culmination in a duel as if in imitation of that ancient rash combat of Eteocles and Polyneices so celebrated in tragedy. Cyrus was the first to hurl his javelin from a distance, and striking the King, brought him to the ground; but the King's attendants speedily snatched him away and carried him out of the battle. Tissaphernes, a Persian noble, now succeeded to the supreme command held by the King, and not only rallied the troops but fought himself in splendid fashion; and retrieving the reverse involved in the wounding of the King and arriving on the scene everywhere with his élite troops, he slew great numbers of the enemy, so that his presence was conspicuous from afar. Cyrus, being elated by the success of his forces, rushed boldly into the midst of the enemy and at first slew numbers of them as he set no bounds to his daring; but later, as he fought too imprudently, he was struck by a common Persian and fell mortally wounded. Upon his death the King's soldiers gained confidence for the battle and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fullest account preserved to us is in Aeschylus, *The Seven against Thebes*.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν] τῶ Dindorf.

ἐπερρώσθησαν, καὶ τέλος τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῆ

τόλμη κατεπόνησαν τους ανθεστηκότας.

24. Ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους ᾿Αριδαῖος ὁ Κύρου σατράπης τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐρώστως ἐδέξατο τοὺς ἐπιόντας βαρβάρους: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς φάλαγγος ἐπὶ πολύ παρεκτεινούσης κυκλούμενος καὶ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν πυθόμενος, ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν πρός τινα τῶν ἰδίων σταθμῶν, ἔχοντα καταφυγὴν οὐκ 2 ἀνεπιτήδειον. Κλέαρχος δὲ θεωρῶν τήν τε μέσην τάξιν καὶ τἄλλα μέρη τῶν συμμάχων τετραμμένα, τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἀπέστη, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀνακαλούμενος καθίστα· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ μήποτε πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς Ελληνας ἐλθούσης κυκλω- 3 θῶσι καὶ πάντες ἀπόλωνται. οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ταχθέντες ἐπειδή τὰ καθ' αύτους ἐτρέψαντο, πρώτον μεν την αποσκευην του Κύρου διήρπασαν, μετά δὲ ταῦτα ήδη νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης ἀθροισθέντες έπὶ τοὺς "Ελληνας ὤρμησαν. ὧν δεξαμένων τὴν ἔφοδον εὐγενῶς, ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμενον οἱ βάρβαροι, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ταῖς τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς 4 εὐχειρίαις νικώμενοι πρὸς φυγήν ὥρμησαν. οἱ δὲ περί Κλέαρχον πολλούς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνελόντες, ώς ήδη νὺξ ην, ἀναχωρήσαντες τρόπαιον ἔστησαν, καὶ περὶ δευτέραν σχεδὸν φυλακὴν ἔφθασαν εἰς τὴν 5 παρεμβολήν. της δε μάχης τοιοῦτον τέλος λαβούσης ανηρέθησαν των τοῦ βασιλέως πλείους των μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, ὧν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνεῖλον οἱ μετὰ Κλεάρχου ταχθέντες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ μισθοφό-6 ροι. ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ἔπεσον περὶ τρισχιλίους τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων φασὶν άναιρεθηναι μέν οὐδένα, τρωθηναι δ' ολίγους.

in the end, by virtue of numbers and daring, wore 401 B.C.

down their opponents.

24. On the other wing Aridaeus, who was second in command to Cyrus, at first withstood stoutly the charge of the barbarians, but later, since he was being encircled by the far-extended line of the enemy and had learned of Cyrus' death, he turned in flight with the soldiers under his command to one of the stations where he had once stopped, which was not unsuited as a place for retreat. Clearchus, when he observed that both the centre of his allies and the other parts as well had been routed, stopped his pursuit, and calling back the soldiers, set them in order; for he feared that if the entire army should turn on the Greeks, they would be surrounded and The King's troops, after they had slain to a man. put their opponents to flight, first plundered Cyrus' baggage-train and then, when night had come on, gathered in force and set upon the Greeks; but when the Greeks met the attack valiantly, the barbarians withstood them only a short while and after a little turned in flight, being overcome by their deeds of valour and skill. The troops of Clearchus, when they had slain great numbers of the barbarians, since it was already night, returned to the battlefield and set up a trophy, and about the second watch got safe to their camp. Such was the outcome of the battle, and of the army of the King more than fifteen thousand were slain, most of whom fell at the hands of the Lacedaemonians and mercenaries under the command of Clearchus. On the other side some three thousand of Cyrus' soldiers fell, while of the Greeks, we are told, not a man was slain, though a few were wounded.

7 Της δε νυκτός παρελθούσης 'Αριδαίος ό πεφευγώς είς τον σταθμόν ἀπέστειλέ τινας πρός τον Κλέαρχον, παρακαλών πρός έαυτον ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ κοινῃ διασώζεσθαι πρός τοὺς ἐπὶ θάλατταν τόπους ἀνηρημένου γὰρ Κύρου καὶ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεων ὑπερεχουσῶν, ἀγωνία πολλὴ κατέσχε τοὺς τετολμηκότας ἐπὶ τῆ καταλύσει τῆς 'Αρταξέρξου βασιλείας στρατεύεσθαι.

25. 'Ο δε Κλέαρχος ανακαλεσάμενος τούς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένους ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. ὄντων δ' αὐτῶν περί ταθτα παρεγενήθησαν παρά τοθ βασιλέως πρέσβεις, ὧν ἦν ἀρχιπρεσβευτὴς ἀνὴρ Ἔλλην, ὄνομα μὲν Φάλυνος, γένος δὲ Ζακύνθιος. εἰσαχθέντες δ' είς τὸ συνέδριον είπον, ὅτι λέγει ὁ βασιλεύς 'Αρταξέρξης· 'Επειδή νενίκηκα Κῦρον ἀποκτείνας, παράδοτε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ βαδίσαντες ζητεῖτε, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκθεραπεύσαντες 2 ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλάβητε. ρηθέντων δὲ τούτων ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν ἕκαστος τῶν στρατηγῶν τοιαύτην οΐαν Λεωνίδης, καθ' δυ καιρου περί Θερμοπύλας αὐτοῦ φυλάττοντος τὰς παρόδους Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλεν άγγέλους, κελεύων των ὅπλων παραχωρῆσαι. 3 καὶ γὰρ τότε Λεωνίδης εἶπεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ βασιλεί διότι νομίζομεν, κἂν φίλοι γενώμεθα τῷ Εέρξη, μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὄντες ἀμείνους ἔσεσθαι σύμμαχοι, καν πολεμείν πρός αὐτὸν ἀναγκασθώμεν, 4 βέλτιον μετὰ τούτων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κλεάρχου περὶ τούτων ἀποκριναμένου, Πρόξενος ο Θηβάιος είπεν, ὅτι νῦν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδον ἀποβεβλήκαμεν, λέλειπται δ' ήμιν ή τ'

άρετη καὶ τὰ ὅπλα. νομίζομεν οὖν, ὰν μὲν ταῦτα

When the night was past, Aridaeus, who had fled 401 E.C. to the stopping-place, dispatched messengers to Clearchus, urging him to lead his soldiers to him and to join him in making a safe return to the regions on the sea. For now that Cyrus had been slain and the King's armaments held the advantage, deep concern had seized those who had dared to take the field to unseat Artaxerxes from the throne.

25. Clearchus called together both the generals and commanders and took counsel with them on the situation. While they were discussing it, there came ambassadors from the King, the chief of whom was a man of Greece, Phalynus by name, who was a Zacynthian. They were introduced to the gathering and spoke as follows: "King Artaxerxes says: Since I have defeated and slain Cyrus, do you surrender your arms, come to my doors, and seek how you may appease me and gain some favour." To these words each general gave a reply much like that which Leonides made when he was guarding the Pass of Thermopylae, and Xerxes sent messengers ordering him to lay down his arms. For Leonides at that time instructed the messengers to report to the King: "We believe that if we become friends of Xerxes. we shall be better allies if we keep our arms, and if we are forced to wage war against him, we shall fight the better if we keep them." When Clearchus had made a somewhat similar reply to the message. Proxenus the Theban said, "As things now stand, we have lost practically everything else, and all that is left to us is our valour and our arms. It is my

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Book 11, 5, 5,

φυλάττωμεν, χρησίμην ήμιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, αν δέ παραδώμεν, οὐδέ ταύτην ήμιν ἔσεσθαι βοηθόν. διόπερ ἐκέλευσε τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγειν, ὡς ἂν περὶ ήμῶν κακόν τι βουλεύηται, διὰ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν διαγωνιούμεθα περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐκείνου.1 5 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Σώφιλον τὸν ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγμένον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι θαυμάζει τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως λόγους εί μεν γάρ αὐτὸν δοκεῖ κρείσσονα τῶν Έλλήνων είναι, μετά της δυνάμεως έλθων λαβέτω τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν ὅπλα· εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται, λεγέτω, 6 τίνα χάριν ήμιν άντὶ τούτων άξίαν δώσει. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Σωκράτης 'Αχαιὸς εἶπεν, ὅτι λίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκπληκτικῶς ὁ βασιλεύς προσφέρεται α μέν γὰρ παρ' ἡμῶν βούλεται λαβεῖν παραχρῆμ' ἀπαιτεῖ, τὰ δ' ἀντὶ τούτων δοθησόμενα μετὰ ταῦτ' άξιοῦν² προστάττει. καθόλου δ' εἰ μὲν ἀγνοῶν τούς νενικηκότας ώς ήττημένους κελεύει τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιείν, μαθέτω ποτέρων έστιν ή νίκη παραγενηθείς μετὰ τῆς πολυαρίθμου δυνάμεως. εί δὲ σαφῶς ήμᾶς είδως νενικηκότας ψεύδεται, πῶς αὐτῶ περὶ τῶν εἰς ὕστερον ἐπαγγελιῶν πιστεύ-

7 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄγγελοι τοιαύτας ἀποκρίσεις λαβόντες ἐχωρίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ περὶ Κλέαρχον ἀνέζευξαν πρὸς τὸν σταθμόν, ὅπου τὸ διασεσωσμένον στρατόπεδον ἢν ἀνακεχωρηκός. εἰς ταὐτὸ³ δὲ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐλθούσης, περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θάλατταν καταβάσεως 82

σομεν;

opinion, therefore, that if we guard our arms, our 401 B.C. valour also will be useful to us, but if we give them up, then not even our valour will be of any help to us." Consequently he gave them this message to the King: "If you are plotting some evil against us, with our arms we will fight against you for your own possessions." We are told that also Sophilus, one of the commanders, said, "I am surprised at the words of the King; for if he believes that he is stronger than the Greeks, let him come with his army and take our arms away from us; but if he wishes to use persuasion, let him say what favour of equal worth he will grant us in exchange for them." After these speakers Socrates the Achaean said, "The King is certainly acting toward us in a most astounding fashion; for what he wishes to take from us he requires at once, while what will be given us in return he commands us to request of him at a later time. In a word, if it is in ignorance of who are the victors that he orders us to obey his command as though we had been defeated, let him come with his numerous host and find out on whose side the victory lies; but if, knowing well enough that we are the victors, he uses lying words, how shall we trust his later promises?"

After the messengers had received these replies, they departed; and Clearchus marched to the stopping-place whither the troops had retired who had escaped from the battle. When the entire force had gathered in the same place, they counselled together how they should make their way back to the

ἐκείνου Bezzel (Xen. Anab. 2. 1. 12): κοινῶν.
 ² ἀξιοῦν Vogel: ἀξιοῦντας αἰτεῖν.
 3 So Reiske: τοῦτο.

8 ἐβουλεύοντο κοινῆ καὶ περὶ τῆς πορείας. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἦπερ ἦλθον ποιείσθαι πολύ γάρ αὐτης ην ἔρημον, ἐν ῷ τροφὰς ούχ ύπελάμβανον έξειν, δυνάμεως πολεμίας άκολουθούσης. γνόντες δ' επί Παφλαγονίας άναζευγνύειν, οθτοι μεν ώρμησαν επί Παφλαγονίαν μετά της δυνάμεως, κατά σχολήν όδοιπορούντες,

ώς αν αμα τας τροφάς ποριζόμενοι. 26. 'Ο δε βασιλεύς βέλτιον έχων ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος, ώς ἐπύθετο τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ὑποχώρησιν, νομίσας αὐτοὺς φεύγειν, ὥρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνά-2 μεως κατά σπουδήν. καταλαβών δ' αὐτούς διά τὸ βραδέως όδοιπορείν, τότε μὲν ήδη νυκτὸς οὔσης έγγὺς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐποιήσατο, αμα δ' ἡμέρα διατασσόντων των Έλλήνων το στρατόπεδον είς μάχην, πέμψας τοὺς ἀγγέλους κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν 3 είς τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο· ἐν δὲ ταύταις συνεφώνησαν, ώστε αὐτὸν μὲν φιλίαν παρασχέσθαι την χώραν καὶ τοὺς ήγησομένους ἐπὶ θάλατταν δοῦναι καὶ τοῖς διεξιοῦσιν ἀγορὰν παρέχειν, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ Κλεάρχου μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς μετ' ᾿Αριδαίου πάντας πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς χώρας μηδὲν 4 ἀδίκημα ποιοῦντας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' οὖτοι μὲν περὶ¹ τας όδοιπορίας εγίνοντο, την δε δύναμιν ο βασιλεύς άπήγαγεν είς Βαβυλώνα. ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνδραγαθησάντων κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστον τιμήσας ἔκρινε πάντων ἄριστον γεγενησθαι Τισσαφέρνην. διὸ καὶ μεγάλαις αὐτὸν τιμήσας δωρεαις έδωκε την έαυτοῦ θυγατέρα πρός συμ-βίωσιν, και το λοιπον διετέλει πιστότατον αὐτον

sea and what route they should take. Now it was 401 B.C. agreed that they should not return by the same way they had come, since much of it was waste country where they could not expect provisions to be available with a hostile army on their heels. They resolved, therefore, to make toward Paphlagonia, and set out in that direction with the army, proceeding at a leisurely pace, since they gathered provisions as they marched.

26. The King was recovering from his wound, and when he learned that his opponents were withdrawing, he believed that they were in flight and set out in haste after them with his army. As soon as he had overtaken them because of their slow progress, for the moment, since it was night, he went into camp near them, and when day came and the Greeks were drawing up their army for battle, he sent messengers to them and for the time being agreed upon a truce of three days. During this period they reached the following agreement: The King would see that his territory was friendly to them; he would provide them guides for their journey to the sea and would supply them with provisions on the way; the mercenaries under Clearchus and all the troops under Aridaeus should pass through his territory without doing any injury. After this they started on their journey, and the King led his army off to Babylon. In that city he accorded fitting honours to everyone who had performed deeds of courage in the battle and judged Tissaphernes to have been the bravest of all. Consequently he honoured him with rich gifts, gave him his own daughter in marriage, and henceforth continued to hold him as his most trusted friend:

έχων φίλον· έδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὧν Κῦρος ἐπὶ θαλάττης ἦρχε σατραπειῶν.

- 5 'Ο δὲ Τισσαφέρνης θεωρῶν τὸν βασιλέα δι' όργης έχοντα τους "Ελληνας, ἐπηγγείλατ' αὐτῷ άπαντας ἀνελείν, ἐὰν αὐτῷ μὲν δυνάμεις δῷ πρὸς δὲ ᾿Αριδαῖον διαλλαγῆ· προδοθήσεσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτου τοὺς "Ελληνας κατά τὴν όδοιπορίαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεύς ἀσμένως τούς λόγους δεξάμενος τούτω μεν έδωκεν εξ άπάσης της δυνάμεως επιλέξαι1 6 τούς κρατίστους όσους προαιροίτο. . . . ἄλλοις γε ήγεμόσιν έλθεῖν καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀκοῦσαι των λόγων. διόπερ οί τε στρατηγοί σχεδόν απαντες μετά Κλεάρχου καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς εἴκοσι² πρός Τισσαφέρνην ήλθον καὶ στρατιωτών δὲ πρός άνορὰν ἐλθεῖν βουλομένων ἡκολούθησαν ώς δια-7 κόσιοι. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς εἰς την σκηνην ἐκάλεσεν, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ πρὸς ταῖς θύραις διέτριβον. καὶ μετ' ολίγον έκ τῆς Τισσαφέρνους σκηνής άρθείσης φοινικίδος ό μεν τους στρατηγούς ένδον συνέλαβε, τούς δε λοχαγούς οίς ην συντεταγμένον ἐπελθόντες ἀνείλον, ἄλλοι δὲ τούς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥκοντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ανήρουν εξ ών είς φυγών είς την ιδίαν παρεμβολήν έδήλωσε την συμφοράν.
  - 27. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται πυθόμενοι τὰ γεγενημένα παρ' αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν καιρὸν ἐξεπλάγησαν καὶ πάντες 86

and he also gave him the command which Cyrus had 401 B.C. held over the satrapies on the sea.

Tissaphernes, seeing that the King was angered at the Greeks, promised him that he would destroy them one and all, if the King would supply him with armaments and come to terms with Aridaeus, for he believed that Aridaeus would betray the Greeks to him in the course of the march. The King readily accepted this suggestion and allowed him to select from his entire army as many of the best troops as he chose. (When Tissaphernes caught up with the Greeks he sent word for Clearchus and the) 1 rest of the commanders to come to him and hear what he had to say in person. Consequently, practically all the generals, together with Clearchus and some twenty captains, went to Tissaphernes, and of the common soldiers about two hundred, who wanted to go to market, accompanied them. Tissaphernes invited the generals into his tent and the captains waited at the entrance. And after a little, at the raising of a red flag from Tissaphernes' tent, he seized the generals within, certain appointed troops fell upon the captains and slew them, and others killed the soldiers who had come to the market. Of the last, one made his escape to his camp and disclosed the disaster that had befallen them.

27. When the soldiers learned what had taken place, at the moment they were panic-stricken and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is clearly a break in the text, as in fact is indicated by two of the manuscripts. The words in parenthesis suffice to carry on the narrative, although a section of considerable length may have fallen out.

So Dindorf: ἐπιλέξας.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: εἰκός.

έχώρουν είς ὅπλα μετὰ πολλης ἀταξίας, ώς ἂν¹ άναρχίας οὔσης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὖδενὸς αὐτοῖς παρενοχλοῦντος, εἴλοντο στρατηγοὺς μὲν πλείους, ένὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέδωκαν Χειρι-2 σόφω τῶ Λακεδαιμονίω. οδτοι δὲ διατάξαντες τὸ στρατόπεδον είς τὴν δδοιπορίαν ως ποτ' αὐτοῖς έδόκει κάλλιστα προήγον ἐπὶ Παφλαγονίαν. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς δήσας ἀπέστειλε προς 'Αρταξέρξην' ἐκείνος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ανείλε, Μένωνα δε μόνον αφηκεν εδόκει γαρ μόνος ούτος στασιάζων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους² προδώσειν 3 τους "Ελληνας. Τισσαφέριης δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνά-μεως ἐπακολουθῶν τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐξήπτετο, καὶ κατὰ στόμα μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμα παρατάττεσθαι, φοβούμενος ἀπεγνωσμένων ἀνδρῶν θράσος καὶ ἀπόνοιαν, εν δε τοις εθέτοις τόποις παρενοχλών μεγάλω μεν οὐδενὶ κακῷ περιβάλλειν αὐτοὺς ήδύνατο, μικρὰ δὲ βλάπτων μέχρι τοῦ τῶν Καρδούχων καλουμένων εθνους επηκολούθησεν.

4 Καὶ Τισσαφέρνης μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι δυνάμενος πρᾶξαι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' Ἰωνίας ἀνέζευξεν· οἱ δὲ Ελληνες ἐφ' ἐπτὰ μὲν ἡμέρας διεπορεύοντο τὰ τῶν Καρδούχων ὅρη, πολλὰ κακὰ πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλκίμων τε ὅντων καὶ τῆς χώρας δ ἐμπείρων. ἦσαν δ' οὖτοι πολέμιοι μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐλεύθεροι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀσκοῦντες, μάλιστα δ' ἐκπονοῦντες σφενδόναις ὡς μεγίστους λίθους ἐμβάλλειν καὶ τοξεύμασιν ὑπερμεγέθεσι χρῆσθαι, δι' ὧν τοὺς "Ελληνας κατατιτρώσκοντες ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τόπων πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλον, οὐκ

αν added by Hertlein.
 συμμάχους] Vogel suggests συνάρχοντας.

all rushed to arms in great disorder, since there was 401 B.C. no one to command; but after this, since no one disturbed them, they elected a number of generals and put the supreme command in the hands of one, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian. The generals organized the army for the march on the route they thought best and proceeded toward Paphlagonia. Tissaphernes sent the generals in chains to Artaxerxes, who executed the others but spared Menon alone, since he alone, because of a quarrel with his allies,1 was thought to be ready to betray the Greeks. Tissaphernes, following with his army, clung to the Greeks, but he did not dare to meet them in battle face to face, fearing as he did the courage and recklessness of desperate men; and although he harassed them in places well suited for that purpose, he was unable to do them any great harm, but he followed them, causing slight difficulties, as far as the country of the people known as the Carduchi.

Since Tissaphernes was unable to accomplish anything further, he set out with his army for Ionia; and the Greeks made their way for seven days through the mountains of the Carduchi, suffering greatly at the hands of the natives, who were a warlike people and well acquainted with the region. They were enemies of the King and a free people who practised the arts of war, and they especially trained themselves in hurling the largest stones they could with slings and in the use of enormous arrows, with which missiles they inflicted wounds on the Greeks from advantageous positions, slaying many and seriously

<sup>1</sup> Or "with his fellow commanders"; see critical note.

<sup>3</sup> So Hertlein: καλουμένου.

6 ολίγους δὲ κακῶς διέθεσαν. τὰ γὰρ βέλη μείζω καθεστῶτα δυεῖν πηχῶν ἔδυνε διά τε τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ θωράκων, ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύειν τὴν βίαν αὐτῶν ὑπομένειν· οὕτω γάρ φασι μεγάλοις κεχρῆσθαι οἰστοῖς, ὥστε τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐναγκυλοῦντας τὰ ῥιπτόμενα βέλη τούτοις σαυνίοις χρωμένους 7 ἐξακοντίζειν. διελθόντες οὖν τὴν προειρημένην χώραν ἐπιπόνως παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν· ὃν διαβάντες εἰσέβαλον εἰς τὴν ᾿Αρμενίαν. ταύτης δ᾽ ἡν σατράπης Τιρίβαζος, πρὸς ὃν σπεισάμενοι διεπορεύοντο τὴν χώραν ὡς δίλοι.

28. 'Οδοιποροῦντες δὲ διὰ τῶν 'Αρμενίων ὀρῶν έλήφθησαν ύπο χιόνος πολλης, και παρεκινδύνευσαν ἀπολέσθαι πάντες. τοῦ γὰρ ἀέρος τεταραγμένου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατ' ολίγον ἤρξατο χιὼν πίπτειν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος, ὤστε τοὺς ὁδοιποροῦντας μηδέν έμποδίζεσθαι της είς τοὔμπροσθεν πορείας. μετά δὲ ταθτα πνεύματος ἐπιγινομένου μᾶλλον αιει κατερρίπτετο και την χώραν ἐπεκάλυπτεν, ωστε μηκέτι δύνασθαι μήτε τὰς όδους μήτε όλο-2 σχερώς τὰς ἰδιότητας τῶν τόπων θεωρεῖσθαι. διόπερ άθυμία τὸ στρατόπεδον ύπεδύετο καὶ δέος. ανακάμπτειν μεν είς απώλειαν οὐ βουλομένων, προάγειν δε διὰ τὸ πληθος τῶν χιόνων οὐ δυναμένων.1 τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπίτασιν λαμβάνοντος ἐπεγενήθη πνευμάτων μέγεθος μετὰ πολλης χαλάζης, ώστε τοῦ συρμοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον όντος άναγκασθηναι καθίσαι την δύναμιν ἄπασαν ἕκαστος γὰρ την ἐκ τῆς όδοιπορίας κακοπάθειαν ύπομένειν άδυνατών, οδ 3 ποτε τύχοι, μένειν ήναγκάζετο. ἀποροῦντες δὲ πάν-

<sup>1</sup> οὐ δυναμένων] οὔτε δυναμένων AL, οὐ δεδυνημένων cet.

injuring not a few. For the arrows were more than 401 B.C. two cubits long <sup>1</sup> and pierced both the shields and breastplates, so that no armour could withstand their force; and these arrows they used were so large, we are told, that the Greeks wound thongs about those that had been shot and used them as javelins to hurl back. Now after they had traversed with difficulty the country we have mentioned, they arrived at the river Centrites, which they crossed, and entered Armenia. The satrap here was Tiribazus, with whom they made a truce and passed through his territory as friends.

28. As they made their way through the mountains of Armenia they encountered a heavy snow and the entire army came near to perishing. What happened was this. At first, when the air was stirred, the snow began to fall in light quantities from the heavens, so that the marchers experienced no trouble in their advance: but after this a wind arose and it came down heavier and heavier and so covered the ground that not only the road but even the peculiarities of the region could no longer be seen at all. Consequently despondency and fear seized the army, which was unwilling to turn back to certain destruction and unable to advance because of the heavy snow. As the storm increased in intensity, there came a great wind and heavy hail which beat in gusts on their faces and forced the entire army to come to a halt; for everyone, being unable to endure the hardship entailed in a further advance, was forced to remain wherever he happened to be. Although without supplies

<sup>1</sup> About three feet.

των των άναγκαίων έκείνην μεν την ημέραν καὶ την νύκτα διεκαρτέρουν ύπαίθριοι, πολλοίς συνεγόμενοι κακοῖς διὰ γὰρ τὸ πληθος της κατὰ τὸ συνεχες εκχεομένης χιόνος τά τε όπλα πάντα συνεκαλύφθη και τὰ σώματα διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰθρίας πάγον περιεψύχετο. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν κακών όλην την νύκτα διηγρύπνουν καὶ τινές μέν πῦρ ἐκκαύσαντες τῆς ἀπὸ τούτου βοηθείας ἐτύγχανον, τινές δέ περικαταληφθέντες ύπο του πάγου τὰ σώματα πᾶσαν ἀπεγίνωσκον ἐπικουρίαν, τῶν άκρωτηρίων αὐτοῖς σχεδον άπάντων ἀπονεκρου-4 μένων. διόπερ ως ή νὖξ διῆλθε, τῶν θ' ὑποζυγίων τὰ πλεῖστα εὑρέθη διεφθαρμένα καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοί μεν τετελευτηκότες, οὐκ ολίγοι δε τὴν μεν ψυχὴν ἔχοντες ἔμφρονα, τὸ δὲ σῶμα διὰ τὸν πάγον ακίνητον ένιοι δε καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐτυφλώθησαν διά τε τὸ ψῦχος καὶ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν τῆς χιόνος. 5 καὶ τελείως ἂν ἄπαντες διεφθάρησαν, εἰ μὴ βραχὺ διελθόντες εθρον κώμας γεμούσας των έπιτηδείων. αθται δὲ τὰς μὲν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καταβάσεις εἶχον ορυκτάς, τὰς δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι κατὰ κλιμάκων . . . ταις οικίαις τά τε βοσκήματα τρεφόμενα χόρτω,

τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων.
29. Ἐμμείναντες δὲ ταῖς κώμαις ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τέτταρας ἡμέρας διανύσαντες² διεπορεύοντο τὴν

τοις δ' ἀνδράσι πολλην ἀφθονίαν πάντων τῶν πρὸς

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: πάντες.

<sup>2</sup> διανύσαντες] διαμείναντες Γ.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  There is clearly a lacuna in the text. Any reconstruction 92

of any kind, they stuck it out under the open sky that 401 B.C. day and the following night, beset by many hardships; for because of the heavy snow which kept continually falling, all their arms were covered and their bodies were completely chilled by the frost in the air. The hardships they endured were so great that they got no sleep the entire night. Some lighted fires and got some help from them, and some, whose bodies were invaded by the frost, gave up all hope of succour, since practically all their fingers and toes were mortifying. Accordingly, when the night was past, it was found that most of the baggage animals had perished, and of the soldiers many were dead and not a few, though still conscious, could not move their bodies because of the frost; and the eyes of some were blinded by reason of the cold and the glare from the snow. And every man would certainly have perished had they not gone on a little farther and found villages full of supplies. These villages had entrances for the beasts of burden which were tunnelled under the ground and others for the human inhabitants who descended into them by ladders . . . 1 and in the houses the animals were supplied with hav, while the human inhabitants enjoyed a great abundance of all the necessities of life.

29. After they had remained in the villages eight days, they went on to the river Phasis. Here they passed four days and then made their way through

should be guided by Xenophon's description (Anab. 4.5.25): "The houses here were underground, with a mouth like that of a well, but spacious below; and while entrances were tunnelled down for the beasts of burden, the human inhabitants descended by a ladder. In the houses were goats, sheep, etc." (tr. of Brownson in the L.C.L.). Such underground villages are still to be found in modern Armenia.

Χάων καὶ Φασιανών χώραν. ἐπιθεμένων δ' αὐτοῖς των έγχωρίων, τούτους μέν έν τῆ μάχη νικήσαντες πολλούς ἀνειλον, αὐτοί δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τὰς τῶν ἐγχωρίων κτήσεις γεμούσας ἀγαθῶν ἐνδιέτρι-2 ψαν εν αὐταῖς ἡμέρας πεντεκαίδεκα. ἀναζεύξαντες δ' ἐκεῖθεν διῆλθον τὴν Χαλδαίων καλουμένων χώραν εν ημέραις έπτα και παρεγενήθησαν προς τον 'Αρπαγον ονομαζόμενον ποταμόν, όντα το πλάτος πλέθρων τεττάρων. εντεῦθεν δε διὰ τῆς Σκυτίνων πορευόμενοι διηλθον όδον πεδινήν, εν ή τρεις ήμέρας αύτους ανέλαβον, εὐποροῦντες άπάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀναζεύξαντες τεταρταῖοι παρεγενήθησαν πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην 3 Γυμνασίαν ὀνομαζομένην. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ὁ τῶν τόπων τούτων ἀφηγούμενος ἐσπείσατο πρὸς αὐτους και τους όδηγήσοντας έπι θάλατταν συνέστησεν. ἐν ἡμέραις δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα παραγενόμενοι έπὶ τὸ Χήνιον όρος, ώς είδον πορευόμενοι οί πρώτοι τὴν θάλατταν, περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν καὶ τοιαύτην ἐποίουν κραυγήν, ωστέ τους έπι της ουραγίας όντας ύπολαμβάνοντας πολεμίων έφοδον είναι χωρείν είς 4 οπλα. ως δ' απαντες ανέβησαν επί τον τόπον, εξ οδ την θάλατταν ην δράν, τοις θεοις ανατείναντες τὰς χεῖρας ηὐχαρίστουν ὡς ἤδη διασεσωσμένοι συνενέγκαντες δ' εἰς ἔνα τόπον λίθους παμπληθεῖς, καὶ ποιήσαντες έξ αὐτῶν ἀναστήματα μεγάλα, σκῦλα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέθεσαν, Βουλόμενοι τῆς στρατείας άθάνατον υπόμνημα καταλιπείν. καὶ τῷ μὲν όδηγήσαντι φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν ἐδωρήσαντο ὁς δείξας αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ 5 Μάκρωνας όδον απηλλάγη. οί δ' Έλληνες είσ-

the territory of the Chaoi 1 and the Phasians. When 401 B.C. the natives attacked them, they defeated them in battle, slaving great numbers of them, seized their farms, which abounded in provisions, and spent fifteen days on them. Continuing their advance from here, they then traversed the territory of the Chaldaeans, as they are called, in seven days and arrived at the river named Harpagus, which was four plethra wide. From here their advance brought them through the territory of the Seytini by a road across a plain, on which they refreshed themselves for three days, enjoying all the necessities of life in plenty. After this they set out and on the fourth day arrived at a large city which bore the name of Gymnasia. Here the ruler of these regions concluded a truce with them and furnished them guides to lead them to the sea. Arriving in fifteen days at Mt. Chenium, when the men marching in the van caught sight of the sea, they were overjoyed and raised such a cry that the men in the rear, assuming that there was an attack by enemies, rushed to arms. But when they had all got up to the place from which the sea could be seen, they raised their hands to the gods and gave thanks, believing they had now come through to safety; and gathering together into one spot a great number of stones, they formed from them great cairns on which they set up as a dedication spoils taken from the barbarians, wishing to leave an eternal memorial of their expedition. To the guide they gave as presents a silver bowl and a suit of Persian raiment; and he, after pointing out to them the road to the Macronians, took his departure. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Probably the Taochians of Xenophon, Anab. 4. 6. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Vogel: καλουμένην.

βαλόντες εἰς τὴν τῶν Μακρώνων χώραν ἐσπείσαντο, καὶ πρὸς πίστιν παρὰ μὲν ἐκείνων λόγχην ἔλαβον βαρβαρικήν, αὐτοὶ δ' Ἑλληνικὴν ἔδωκανταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ προγόσ νων παραδεδόσθαι πρὸς πίστιν βεβαιότατα. ώς δὲ τούς τούτων όρους διηλθον, παρεγενήθησαν είς την 6 τῶν Κόλχων χώραν. εἰς ἢν ἀθροισθέντων τῶν ἐγχωρίων έπ' αὐτούς, τούτους μεν κρατήσαντες μάχη πολλούς ἀνεῖλαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ λόφον ὀχυρὸν καταλαβόμενοι την χώραν επόρθουν, καὶ τὰς ὡφελείας εἰς τοῦτον ἀθροίσαντες ἀφθόνως έαυτοὺς ἀνελάμβανον. 30. Ευρίσκετο δὲ καὶ σμήνη παμπληθή περὶ τούς τόπους, έξ ὧν πολυτελη προσεφέρετο κηρία. τούς τοπους, εξ ων ποκυτεκή προσεφερετο κηριά. τούτων δ' οι γευσάμενοι παραλόγω περιέπιπτον συμπτώματι· οι γὰρ μεταλαβόντες αὐτῶν ἄφρονες ἐγίνοντο καὶ πίπτοντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὅμοιοι τοῖς 2 τετελευτηκόσιν ὑπῆρχον. πολλῶν δὲ φαγόντων διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῆς ἀπολαύσεως, ταχὺ τὸ πληθος έγεγόνει των πεπτωκότων οίονει τροπης έν πολέμω γεγενημένης. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ηθύμησεν η δύναμις, καταπεπληγμένη τό τε παράδοξον καὶ τὸ πληθος τῶν ἠτυχηκότων τῆ δ' ύστεραία περί την αὐτην ώραν ἄπαντες έαυτοὺς ἀνελάμβανον καὶ κατ' ολίγον ἀνακτώμενοι τὸ φρονεῖν ἀνέστησαν, καὶ τὸ σῶμα διετέθησαν δμοίως τοῖς ἐκ φαρμακοποσίας διασωθεῖσιν.

3 'Ως δ' ἀνέλαβον έαυτοὺς ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν 'Ελληνίδα, Σινωπέων μὲν ἄποικον, κειμένην δ' ἐν τῆ Κόλχων χώρα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ διατρίψαντες ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, παρὰ

Greeks then entered the territory of the Macronians 401 B.C. with whom they concluded a truce, receiving from them as a pledge of good faith a spear used by these barbarians and giving them in return a Greek one; for the barbarians declared that such an exchange had been handed down to them from their forefathers as the surest pledge of good faith. When they had crossed the boundaries of this people, they arrived at the territory of the Colchians. When the natives gathered here against them, the Greeks overcame them in battle and slew great numbers of them, and then, seizing a strong position on a hill, they pillaged the territory, gathered their booty on the hill, and refreshed themselves plentifully.

30. There were found in the regions great numbers of beehives which yielded valuable honey. But as many as partook of it succumbed to a strange affliction; for those who ate it lost consciousness, and falling on the ground were like dead men. Since many consumed the honey because of the pleasure its sweetness afforded, such a number had soon fallen to the ground as if they had suffered a rout in war. Now during that day the army was disheartened, terrified as it was at both the strange happening and the great number of the unfortunates; but on the next day at about the same hour all came to themselves, gradually recovered their senses, and rose up from the ground, and their physical state was like that of men recovered after a dose of a drug.

When they had refreshed themselves for three days, they marched on to the Greek city of Trapezus, which is a colony of the Sinopians and lies in the territory of the Colchians. Here they spent thirty days,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The modern Trebizond.

μὲν τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις λαμπρῶς ἐξενίσθησαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῷ τε Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Διὶ Σωτηρίῳ θυσίαν ἐποίησαν καὶ γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα, καθ' ὃν τόπον φασὶ προσπλεῦσαι τὴν 'Αργώ καὶ τοὺς περὶ 'Ιάσονα. 4 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Χειρίσοφον μὲν τὸν ἀφηγούμενον ἀπ-έστειλαν εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐπὶ πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις· ἔλεγε² γὰρ εἶναι φίλος 'Αναξιβίω τῷ Βυζαντίων ναυάρχω. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ κέλητος ἐξέπεμψαν· λαβόντες δὲ τῶν ἐπικώπων δύο πλοιάρια παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ελήστευον τους περιοικοῦντας βαρ-5 βάρους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ήμέρας μεν οθν τριάκοντα περιέμειναν τον Χειρίσοφον ώς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐβράδυνεν, αί δὲ τροφαὶ τοῖς ανθρώποις ἐσπάνιζον, ἀνέζευξαν ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος. καὶ τριταῖοι παρεγενήθησαν εἰς Κερασοῦντα πόλιν Έλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἄποικον. ἐν ταύτη δὲ ἡμέρας διατρίψαντές τινας παρεγενήθησαν είς το των 6 Μοσυνοίκων έθνος. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων συστραφέντων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκράτησαν μάχη καὶ πολλοὺς άνειλον. συμφυγόντων δ΄ είς τι χωρίον, εν ῷ κατώκουν έπτορόφους έχοντες ξυλίνους πύργους, συνεχεις προσβολάς ποιησάμενοι κατά κράτος είλον. ην δέ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων ἐρυμάτων, ἐν ὧ καὶ ὁ βασιλεύς αὐτῶν κατώκει τὸν 7 ύψηλότατον τόπον έχων. έθος δ' έχει πάτριον μένειν εν αὐτῶ τὸν πάντα βίον, κἀκεῖθεν διαδιδόναι τοῖς ὄχλοις τὰ προστάγματα. βαρβαρώτατον δ' ἔφασαν οι στρατιώται τοῦτο διεληλυθέναι τὸ ἔθνος, καί ταις μέν γυναιξίν αὐτούς πλησιάζειν άπάντων όρωντων, τούς δέ παίδας των πλουσιωτάτων

δè Eichstädt : τε.
 So Dindorf : ἐλέγετο.

during which they were most magnificently enter- 401 B.G. tained by the inhabitants; and they offered sacrifices to Heracles and to Zeus the Deliverer and held a gymnastic contest at the place at which, men say, the Argo put in with Jason and his men. From here they dispatched Cheirisophus their commander to Byzantium to get transports and triremes, since he claimed to be a friend of Anaxibius, the admiral of the Byzantians. The Greeks sent him off on a light boat, and then, receiving from the Trapezians two small boats equipped with oars, they plundered the neighbouring barbarians both by land and by sea. Now for thirty days they waited for the return of Cheirisophus, and when he still delayed and provisions for the troops were running low, they set out from Trapezus and arrived on the third day at the Greek city of Cerasus, a colony of the Sinopians. Here they spent some days and then came to the people of the Mosynoecians. When the barbarians assembled against them, the Greeks defeated them in battle, slaying great numbers of them. And when they fled for refuge to a stronghold where they had their dwelling and which they defended with wooden towers seven stories high, the Greeks launched successive assaults upon it and took it by storm. This stronghold was the capitol of all the other walled communities and in it, in the loftiest part, their king had his dwelling. A custom, handed down from their fathers, is followed that the king must remain for his entire life in the stronghold and from it issue his commands to the people. This was the most barbarous nation, the soldiers said, that they passed through: the men have intercourse with the women in the sight of all; the children of the wealthiest are

τρέφεσθαι καρύοις έφθοῖς, ἄπαντας δ' ἐκ παιδὸς στίγμασι τόν τε νῶτον καὶ τὰ στήθη καταπεποικίλθαι. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν χώραν ἐν ἡμέραις ὀκτὼ διεπορεύθησαν, τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ἐν τρισίν,

31. Κάκειθεν είς Κοτύωρα πόλιν παρεγενήθησαν Έλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἄποικον. Εν ταύτη δε πεντή-

ην εκάλουν Τιβαρηνήν.

κονθ' ήμέρας διέτριψαν τους περιοίκους της Παφλαγονίας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ληστεύοντες. Ήρακλεώται δὲ καὶ Σινωπεῖς ἀπέστειλαν αὐτοῖς πλοία, δι' ὧν αὐτοί τε καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα διεκο-2 μίσθησαν. ή δὲ Σινώπη Μιλησίων μὲν ῆν ἄποικος, κειμένη δ' εν τῆ Παφλαγονία μέγιστον είχεν ἀξίωμα των περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν ἡ δὴ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔσχε Μιθριδάτης δ πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους διαπολεμήσας τὰ 3 μέγιστα βασίλεια. παρεγενήθη δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα Χειρίσοφος δ πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις ἀπεσταλμένος άπρακτος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ¹ Σινωπεῖς φιλοφρόνως αὐτοὺς ξενίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, Μεγαρέων ἄποικον· καὶ καθωρμίσθη πᾶς ὁ στόλος πρὸς τὴν 'Αχερουσίαν χερρόνησον, όπου φασίν 'Ηρακλέα τὸν έξ "Αιδου 4 Κέρβερον αναγαγείν. ἐκείθεν δὲ πεζή διὰ Βιθυνίας πορευόμενοι κινδύνοις περιέπιπτον, των έγχωρίων έξαπτομένων κατά την πορείαν. μόγις οθν διεσώθησαν είς Χρυσόπολιν της Χαλκηδονίας οί περιλειφθέντες ἀπὸ μυρίων ὀκτακισχίλιοι τριακόσιοι.2 5 έκείθεν δὲ ράδίως ήδη τὸ λοιπὸν τινὲς μὲν διεσώθησαν είς τὰς πατρίδας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ περὶ τὴν 100

nourished on boiled nuts; and they are all from their 401 B.C. youth tattooed in various colours on both their back and breast. This territory they passed through in eight days and the next country, called Tibarenê, in three.

31. From there they arrived at Cotyora, a Greek city and a colony of the Sinopians. Here they spent fifty days, plundering both the neighbouring peoples of Paphlagonia and the other barbarians. And the citizens of Heracleia and Sinopê sent them vessels on which both the soldiers and their pack-animals were conveyed across. Sinopê was a colony founded by the Milesians, and situated as it was in Paphlagonia, it held first place among the cities of those regions; and it was in this city that in our day Mithridates, who went to war with the Romans, had his largest palace. And at that city also arrived Cheirisophus, who had been dispatched without success to get Nevertheless, the Sinopians entertained them in kindly fashion and sent them on their way by sea to Heracleia, a colony of the Megarians; and the entire fleet came to anchor at the peninsula of Acherusia, where, we are told, Heracles led up Cerberus from Hades. As they proceeded from there on foot through Bithynia they fell among perils, as the natives skirmished with them along their route. So they barely made their way to safety to Chrysopolis in Chalcedonia, eight thousand three hundred surviving of the original ten thousand. From there some of the Greeks got back in safety, without further trouble, to their native lands, and the rest banded

¹ To Sinopê (Xenophon, Anab. 6. 1. 14-15).

<sup>1</sup> οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Dindorf, οἱ μèν ἄλλοι P¹, οἱ μèν οὖν ἄλλοι cet.
2 So Dindorf (ch. 37. 1): τρισχίλιοι ὀκτακόσιοι.

Χερρόνησον άθροισθέντες ἐπόρθουν τὴν παρακειμένην Θρακῶν χώραν.¹

'Η μὲν οὖν ἐπ' 'Αρταξέρξην Κύρου στρατεία

τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

- 32. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ᾿Αθήναις δυναστεύοντες τριάκοντα τύραννοι καθ' ήμέραν οὐκ ἐπαύοντο τοὺς μέν φυγαδεύοντες, τούς δέ αναιροῦντες. των δέ Θηβαίων άγανακτούντων ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις καὶ φιλοφρόνως τους φυγάδας υποδεχομένων, Θρασύβουλος Στιριεύς ονομαζόμενος, ων 'Αθηναίος, ύπο δέ τῶν τριάκοντα πεφυγαδευμένος, συνεργούντων αὐτῷ λάθρα τῶν Θηβαίων κατελάβετο τῆς ᾿Αττικῆς χωρίον ονομαζόμενον Φυλήν. ήν δὲ τὸ φρούριον όχυρόν τε σφόδρα καὶ τῶν ᾿Αθηνῶν ἀπέχον σταδίους έκατόν, ώστε πολλάς άφορμάς αὐτοῖς παρ-2 έχεσθαι πρός την έφοδον. οί δὲ τριάκοντα τύραννοι πυθόμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξήγαγον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν ώς πολιορκήσοντες τὸ χωρίον. πλησίον δὲ τῆς Φυλῆς αὐτῶν στρατοπεδευόντων 3 επεγενήθη πολύς νιφετός. καί τινων επιχειρησάντων μετασκηνούν, οί πολλοί φεύγειν αὐτοὺς ὑπέλαβον καὶ πλησίον τινὰ πολεμίαν δύναμιν είναι. έμπεσόντος δὲ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον θορύβου τοῦ καλουμένου Πανικοῦ μετεστρατοπέδευσαν είς έτερον τόπον.
- 4 'Οί δὲ τριάκοντα θεωροῦντες τοὺς πολίτας ἐν 'Αθήναις, ὅσοι μὴ μετεῖχον τῆς τῶν τρισχιλίων πολιτείας, μετεώρους ὄντας πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς

<sup>1</sup> χώραν Wesseling: πόλιν.

together around the Chersonesus and laid waste the 401 B.C. adjoining territory of the Thracians.

Such, then, was the outcome of the campaign of

Cyrus against Artaxerxes.

32. In Athens the Thirty Tyrants, who were in supreme control, made no end of daily exiling some citizens and putting to death others. When the Thebans were displeased at what was taking place and extended kindly hospitality to the exiles,1 Thrasybulus of the deme of Stiria, as he was called, who was an Athenian and had been exiled by the Thirty, with the secret aid of the Thebans seized a stronghold in Attica called Phyle. This was an outpost, which was not only very strong but was also only one hundred stades distant from Athens, so that it afforded them many advantages for attack. The Thirty Tyrants, on learning of this act, at first led forth their troops against the band with the intention of laying siege to the stronghold. But while they were encamped near Phylê there came a heavy snow, and when some set to work to shift their encampment, the majority of the soldiers assumed that they were taking to flight and that a hostile force was at hand; and the uproar which men call Panic struck the army and they removed their camp to another place.

The Thirty, seeing that those citizens of Athens who enjoyed no political rights in the government of the three thousand 2 were elated at the prospect of the overthrow of their control of the state, trans-

Here and often below the word translated "exile" may include not only those who had been legally sentenced to exile but also others who had voluntarily fled Athens,

<sup>2</sup> These were chosen by the Thirty, as Xenophon states

(Hell. 2. 3. 18), to "share in the government."

δυναστείας, μετώκισαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς ὅπλοις διακατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. Έλευσινίους δε καὶ Σαλαμινίους αἰτιασάμενοι τὰ 5 των φυγάδων φρονείν, απαντας ανείλον. τούτων δέ πραττομένων πολλοί τῶν φυγάδων συνέρρεον πρός τοὺς περὶ Θρασύβουλον . . . φανερῶς μὲν περί τινων αίχμαλώτων διαλεξόμενοι, λάθρα δὲ συμβουλεύειν αὐτῶ¹ διαλῦσαι τὸ συνεστηκὸς φυγαδικόν καὶ μεθ' έαυτῶν τῆς πόλεως δυναστεύειν ἀντὶ Θηραμένους προταιρεθέντα, λαβεῖν δ' ἐξουσίαν δέκα των φυγάδων οθς αν προαιρήται κατ-6 άγειν είς την πατρίδα. ό μεν Θρασύβουλος έφησε προκρίνειν την έαυτοῦ φυγήν της των τριάκοντα δυναστείας, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐ καταλύσειν, εἰ μὴ πάντες οἱ πολῖται κατέλθωσι καὶ τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν ο δημος ἀπολάβη. οι δὲ τριάκοντα θεωροῦντες πολλοὺς μὲν ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν ἀφισταμένους διὰ τὸ μῖσος, τοὺς δὲ φυγάδας ἀεὶ πλείους γινομένους, ἀπέστειλαν εἰς Σπάρτην πρέσβεις περὶ βοηθείας, αὐτοὶ δ' ὅσους ἠδύναντο πλείστους ἀθροίσαντες εν ύπαίθρω περιεστρατοπέδευσαν περί τας ονομαζομένας 'Αχαρνάς.

33. 'Ο δὲ Θρασύβουλος τὴν ἱκανὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ χωρίου καταλιπών ἐξήγαγε τοὺς φυγάδας, ὄντας χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους· ἐπιθέμενος δὲ τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων παρεμβολῇ νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ συχνοὺς ἀποκτείνας, τοὺς ἄλλους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἐξέπληξε καὶ φυγεῖν εἰς 'Αθήνας ἠνάγκασεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θρασύβουλος εὐθὺς μὲν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ κατελάβετο τὴν Μουνυχίαν, λόφον

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  τὸ after αὐτῷ deleted by Dindorf.  $^2$  So Dindorf, omitted FJK, προαιρεθέντα cet.

ferred them to the Peiraeus and maintained their 401 B.C. control of the city by means of mercenary troops; and accusing the Eleusians and Salaminians of siding with the exiles, they put them all to death. While these things were being done, many of the exiles flocked to Thrasybulus; (and the Thirty dispatched ambassadors to Thrasybulus) 1 publicly to treat with him about some prisoners, but privately to advise him to dissolve the band of exiles and to associate himself with the Thirty in the rule of the city, taking the place of Theramenes; and they promised further that he could have licence to restore to their native land any ten exiles he chose. Thrasybulus replied that he preferred his own state of exile to the rule of the Thirty and that he would not end the war unless all the citizens returned from exile and the people got back the form of government they had received from their fathers. The Thirty, seeing many revolting from them because of hatred and the exiles growing ever more numerous, dispatched ambassadors to Sparta for aid, and meanwhile themselves gathered as many troops as they could and pitched a camp in the open country near Acharnae, as it is called.

33. Thrasybulus, leaving behind an adequate guard at the stronghold, led forth the exiles, twelve hundred in number, and delivering an unexpected attack by night on the camp of his opponents, he slew a large number of them, struck terror into the rest by his unexpected move, and forced them to flee to Athens. After the battle Thrasybulus set out straightway for the Peiraeus and seized Munychia, which was an

3 i.e. Phylê,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> A statement to this general effect must have been in the Greek.

έρημον καὶ καρτερόν, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι τῆ δυνάμει πάση καταβάντες είς τὸν Πειραιᾶ προσέβαλον τῆ Μουνυχία, Κριτίου την ήγεμονίαν έχοντος. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τῆς μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης, οἱ μὲν τύραννοι τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερεῖχον, οἱ δὲ 3 ψυγάδες τῆ τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι. τέλος δὲ Κριτίου πεσόντος οἱ μετὰ τῶν τριάκοντα κατεπλάγησαν καὶ πρὸς τούς δμαλωτέρους τόπους κατέφυγον, οὐ τολμώντων τῶν φυγάδων εἰς ἐκείνους καταβαίνειν. μετά δὲ ταῦτα συχνῶν ἀφισταμένων πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας, οἱ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον ἐξαίφνης ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ μάχη κρατή-4 σαντες έκυρίευσαν τοῦ Πειραιώς. εὐθύ δὲ πολλοί μεν των εκ της πόλεως επίθυμοῦντες απαλλαγηναι της τυραννίδος συνέρρεον είς τον Πειραια, πάντες δ' οί κατὰ τὰς πόλεις διερριμμένοι φυγάδες ἀκούοντες τὰ προτερήματα τῶν περὶ Θρασύβουλον, ἦκον εἰς Πειραιᾶ, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη πολύ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν οἱ φυγάδες ὑπερεῖχον διὸ καὶ πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπεχείρησαν.

5 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταις 'Αθήναις τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παύσαντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμψαν, δέκα δ' ἄνδρας κατέστησαν αὐτοκράτορας, εἰ δύναιντο, μάλιστα φιλικῶς διαλύεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον. οῦτοι δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτων μὲν ἡμέλησαν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ τυράννους ἀποδείξαντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος τετταράκοντα ναις μετεπέμψαντο καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους, ὧν ἦρχε Λύσανδρος. Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, φθονῶν μὲν τῷ Λυσάνδρω, θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ἀδοξοῦσαν παρὰ τοις Ελλησιν, ἀνέζευξε μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς, καὶ παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Αθήνας διήλλαξε τοὺς

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uninhabited and strong hill; and the Tyrants with 401 B.C. all the troops at their disposal went down to the Peiraeus and attacked Munychia, under the command of Critias. In the sharp battle which continued for a long time the Thirty held the advantage in numbers and the exiles in the strength of their position. At last, however, when Critias fell, the troops of the Thirty were dismayed and fled for safety to more level ground, the exiles not daring to come down against them. When after this great numbers went over to the exiles, Thrasybulus made an unexpected attack upon his opponents, defeated them in battle, and became master of the Peiraeus. At once many of the inhabitants of the city 1 who wished to be rid of the tyranny flocked to the Peiraeus and all the exiles who were scattered throughout the cities of Greece, on hearing of the successes of Thrasybulus, came to the Peiraeus, so that from now on the exiles were far superior in force. In consequence they began to lay siege to the city.

The remaining citizens in Athens now removed the Thirty from office and sent them out of the city, and then they elected ten men with supreme power first and foremost to put an end to the war, in any way possible, on friendly terms. But these men, as soon as they had succeeded to office, paid no attention to these orders, but established themselves as tyrants and sent to Lacedaemon for forty warships and a thousand soldiers, under the command of Lysander. But Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, being jealous of Lysander and observing that Sparta was in ill repute among the Greeks, marched forth with a strong army and on his arrival in Athens brought

έν τῆ πόλει πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας. διόπερ 'Αθηναῖοι μὲν ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἰδίοις νόμοις ἐπολιτεύοντο, τοῖς δ' εὐλαβουμένοις, μή τι πάθωσι διὰ τὰ γενόμενα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς αὐτῶν ἀδικήματα, τὴν 'Ελευσῖνα κατοικεῖν συνεχώ-

ρησαν.

34. Ήλεῖοι δὲ φοβηθέντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ύπεροχήν, κατέλυσαν τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον, εφ' ὧ τὰς τριήρεις δοῦναι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰς περιοικούσας πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι. 2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δε καταλελυκότες τους πολέμους καὶ σχολήν ἔχοντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους, ων οί μεν εν Κεφαλληνία φρούριον τι κατώκουν, οί δε Ναύπακτον εν τοις προσεσπερίοις λεγομένοις Λοκροῖς, δόντων 'Αθηναίων. ἐκβαλόντες δ' αὐτοὺς έκ των τόπων απέδωκαν τα φρούρια, το μεν τοῖς 3 την Κεφαλληνίαν οἰκοῦσι, τὸ δὲ τοῖς Λοκροῖς. οί δέ Μεσσήνιοι διὰ τὸ παλαιὸν πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας μίσος πανταχόθεν έλαυνόμενοι, μετά τῶν ὅπλων άπηλλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν πλεύσαντες είς Σικελίαν εγένοντο Διονυσίου μισθοφόροι, τινès δ' είς Κυρήνην ἔπλευσαν, περὶ τρισχιλίους όντες, καὶ μετά τῶν ἐκεῖ φυγάδων ἐτάχθησαν. 4 οί γὰρ Κυρηναῖοι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ταραχῆ καθειστήκεισαν, 'Αρίστωνος καί τινων έτέρων κατειληφότων τὴν πόλιν. προσφάτως μὲν πεντακόσιοι οί δυνατώτατοι τῶν Κυρηναίων ἀνήρηντο, 5 τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπεφεύγεισαν οἱ χαριέστατοι. μην άλλ' οί φυγάδες προσλαμβανόμενοι τους

1 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ Dindorf: οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 11. 84. 7.

about a reconciliation between the men in the city 401 B.C. and the exiles. As a result the Athenians got back their country and henceforth conducted their government under laws of their own making; and the men who lived in fear of punishment for their unbroken series of past crimes they allowed to make their home in Eleusis.

34. The Eleians, because they stood in fear of the superior strength of the Lacedaemonians, brought the war with them to an end, agreeing that they would surrender their triremes to the Lacedaemonians and let the neighbouring cities go free. And the Lacedaemonians, now that they had brought their wars to an end and were no longer concerned with them, advanced with their army against the Messenians, of whom some were settled in an outpost on Cephallenia and others in Naupactus, which the Athenians had given them, among the western Driving the Messenians from these regions, they returned the one outpost to the inhabitants of Cephallenia and the other to the Locrians. The Messenians, being now driven from every place because of their ancient hatred of the Spartans, departed with their arms from Greece, and some of them, sailing to Sicily, took service as mercenaries with Dionysius, while others, about three thousand in number, sailed to Cyrenê and joined the forces of exiles there. For at that time disorder had broken out among the Cyrenaeans, since Ariston, together with certain others, had seized the city. Of the Cyrenaeans, five hundred of the most influential citizens had recently been put to death and the most respected among the survivors had been banished. The exiles now added the Messenians to their number

Μεσσηνίους παρετάξαντο πρός τους την πόλιν κατειληφότας, και τῶν μὲν Κυρηναίων πολλοι παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἔπεσον, οι δὲ Μεσσήνιοι σχεδον ἄπαντες 6 ἀνηρέθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν οι Κυρηναίοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαπρεσβευσάμενοι διηλλάγησαν, και παραχρῆμα δρκωμοτήσαντες μὴ μνησικακήσειν, κοινῆ τὴν πόλιν κατώκησαν.

7 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ῥωμαῖοι προσέθηκαν οἰκήτορας εἰς τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Οὐελί-

 $\tau \rho \dot{\alpha} s.^{1}$ 

35. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος 'Αθήνησι μέν ήρχε Λάχης, ἐν δὲ τῆ Ῥώμη τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διώκουν χιλίαρχοι, Μάνιος Κλώδιος, Μάρκος Κοΐντιος, Λεύκιος Ιούλιος, Μάρκος Φούριος, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος, ἐγενήθη δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπιὰς πέμπτη πρὸς ταις ἐνενήκοντα, καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα στάδιον Μίνως 'Αθη-2 ναΐος. κατά δέ τούτους τούς χρόνους 'Αρταξέρξης μέν δ της 'Ασίας βασιλεύς καταπεπολεμηκώς Κῦρον ἀπεστάλκει Τισσαφέρνην² παραληψόμενον πάσας τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάττη σατραπείας. διόπερ οἱ Κύρῳ συμμαχήσαντες σατράπαι καὶ πόλεις ἐν άγωνία πολλή καθειστήκεισαν, μήποτε δωσι τιμω-3 ρίαν ύπερ ῶν εξήμαρτον είς τον βασιλέα. οἱ μεν οὖν ἄλλοι σατράπαι διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην έξεθεράπευον καὶ τὰ καθ' αύτοὺς ἐτίθεντο προς αὐτόν, ὅπως ποτ' ἦσαν δυνατοί Ταμώς δέ, μέγιστος ὢν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας ἀφηγούμενος, έις τὰς τριήρεις ἐνέθετο τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς υίοὺς απαντας πλην ένος τοῦ καλουμένου μεν Γλοῦ<sup>3</sup> μετά δέ τινας χρόνους ἀφηγησαμένου τῶν βασιλικῶν 4 δυνάμεων. εὐλαβηθείς οὖν δ Ταμώς τὸν Τισσαand joined battle with the men who had seized the 401 B.C. city, and many of the Cyrenaeans were slain on both sides, but the Messenians were killed almost to a man. After the battle the Cyrenaeans negotiated with each other and agreed to be reconciled, and they immediately swore oaths not to remember past injuries and lived together as one body in the city.

At this same time the Romans increased the number of colonists in the city known as Velitrae.

35. At the close of this year, in Athens Laches was 400 B.C. archon and in Rome the consulship was administered by military tribunes, Manius Claudius, Marcus Quinctius, Lucius Julius, Marcus Furius, and Lucius Valerius 1; and the Ninety-fifth Olympiad was held, that in which Minos of Athens won the "stadion." This year Artaxerxes, the King of Asia, after his defeat of Cyrus, had dispatched Tissaphernes to take over all the satrapies which bordered on the sea. Consequently the satraps and cities which had allied themselves with Cyrus were in great suspense, lest they should be punished for their offences against the King. Now all the other satraps, sending ambassadors to Tissaphernes, paid court to him and in every way possible arranged their affairs to suit him; but Tamos, the most powerful satrap, who commanded Ionia, put on triremes his possessions and all his sons except one whose name was Glos and who became later commander of the King's armaments.

<sup>1</sup> Livy (5. 1) gives the names as M. Aemilius Mamercus, L. Valerius Potitus, Ap. Claudius Crassus, M. Quinctilius Varus, L. Iulius Iulus, M. Postumius, M. Furius Camillus, and M. Postumius Albinus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: Φαρνάβαζον.
<sup>3</sup> So Wesseling: γάον.

φέρνην ἀπήρεν είς Αίγυπτον μετά τοῦ στόλου, καὶ κατέφυγε πρός Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἀπόγονον ὄντα τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου. οὔσης δ' αὐτῶ προγεγενημένης εὐεργεσίας εἰς τὸν βασιλέα. διελάμβανε τοῦτον έξειν οδόν τινα λιμένα τῶν

5 άπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως κινδύνων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος τήν τε εθεργεσίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ίκέτας ὅσιον παρ' οὐδὲν ήγησάμενος ἀπέσφαξε τὸν ίκέτην καὶ φίλον μετά των τέκνων, όπως των τε χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ στόλου γένηται κύριος.

6 Αί δὲ κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν 'Ελληνίδες πόλεις πυνθανόμεναι τὴν τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους κατάβασιν, περί σφών άγωνιώσαι πρός Λακεδαιμονίους έπεμψαν πρέσβεις, δεόμεναι μὴ περιιδεῖν έαυτὰς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναστάτους γινομένας. οί δε Λακεδαιμόνιοι βοηθήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις τοὺς ἐροῦντας μὴ ὅπλα 7 πολέμια ἐπιφέρειν ταῖς Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσιν. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπὶ πρώτην ἐλθὼν τὴν Κυμαίων πόλιν τήν τε χώραν ἐπόρθησεν ἄπασαν καὶ πολλών αἰχμαλώτων ἐγκρατής ἐγένετο μετά δέ ταῦτα συγκλείσας αὐτοὺς εἰς πολιορκίαν, ὡς ὁ μέν χειμών συνήγγισε, την δε πόλιν έλειν οὐκ ηδύνατο, τους αιχμαλώτους πολλών χρημάτων άπελύτρωσε καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσεν.

36. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πόλεμον Θίβρωνα καταστήσαντες ήγεμόνα χιλίους μέν τῶν πολιτῶν ἔδωκαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων then, in fear of Tissaphernes, sailed off with his fleet 400 B.C. to Egypt and sought safety with Psammetichus, the king of the Egyptians, who was a descendant of the famous Psammetichus.¹ Because of a good turn he had done the king in the past, Tamōs believed that he would find in him a haven, as it were, from the perils he faced from the King of Persia. But Psammetichus, completely ignoring both the good turn and the hallowed obligation due to suppliants, put to the sword the man who was his suppliant and friend, together with his children, in order to take for his own both Tamōs' possessions and his fleet.

When the Greek cities of Asia learned that Tissaphernes was on his way, they were deeply concerned for their future and dispatched ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians, begging them not to allow the cities to be laid waste by the barbarians. The Lacedaemonians promised to come to their aid and sent ambassadors to Tissaphernes to warn him not to commit any acts of aggression against the Greek cities. Tissaphernes, however, advancing with his army against the city of the Cymaeans first, both plundered its entire territory and got possession of many captives; after this he laid siege to the Cymaeans, but on the approach of winter, since he was unable to capture the city, he released the captives for a heavy ransom and raised the siege.

36. The Lacedaemonians appointed Thibron commander of the war against the King, gave him a thousand soldiers from their own citizens,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon (*Hell.* 3. 1. 4) says that these were emancipated

Helots.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Psammetichus I (664-610 s.c.), the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, who fostered trade relations with the Greeks (cp. Herodotus, 2. 151-154).

εκέλευσαν στρατολογείν όσους αν αὐτῷ φαίνηται 2 συμφέρειν. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων πορευθεὶς εἰς Κόρινθον, κάκει παρά των συμμάχων μεταπεμψάμενος στρατιώτας, έξέπλευσεν είς "Εφεσον έχων ου πλείους πεντακισχιλίων. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔκ τε τῶν ἰδίων πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς δισχιλίους καταγράψας, ἀν-έζευξε τοὺς πάντας ἔχων πλείους ἐπτακισχιλίων. διελθών δ' ώς έκατον είκοσι σταδίους προς Μαγνησίαν ήκεν, ής ήρχε Τισσαφέρνης ταύτην δ' έξ έφόδου παραλαβών, καὶ ταχέως ἐπὶ Τράλλεις τῆς Ἰωνίας πορευθείς, ἐπεχείρησε πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν· οὐδὲν δὲ δυνάμενος πρᾶξαι δι' ὀχυρότητα, πάλιν 3 εἰς Μαγνησίαν ἀπεχώρησεν. ταύτης δ' οὔσης άτειχίστου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φοβούμενος μήποτε χωρισθέντος αὐτοῦ κυριεύση τῆς πόλεως ὁ Τισσα-φέρνης, μετώκισεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸ πλησίον ὅρος, ὁ καλοῦσι Θώρακα αὐτὸς δ' ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων χώραν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐνέπλησε παν-τοίας ἀφελείας. Τισσαφέρνους δὲ μετὰ πολλῆς ίππου παραγενομένου διευλαβηθείς ανέστρεψεν είς " $E\phi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\nu$ .

37. Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐστρατευμένων μετὰ Κύρου καὶ διασωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ελλάδα τινὲς μὲν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι στρατιωτικὸν εἰθισμένοι ζῆν βίον, καὶ σχεδὸν ὄντες πεντακισχίλιοι, στρατηγὸν 2 αὐτῶν εἴλοντο Εενοφῶντα. δς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησε πολεμήσων Θρᾶκας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν οἰκοῦντας οὖτος δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπ' ἀριστερῷ τοῦ Πόντου, παρεκτείνων δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chaps. 19-31.

ordered him to enlist as many troops from their allies 400 B.C. as he should think desirable. Thibron, after going to Corinth and summoning soldiers from the allies to that city, set sail for Ephesus with not more than five thousand troops. Here he enrolled some two thousand soldiers from his own and other cities and then marched forth with a total force of over seven thou-Advancing some one hundred and twenty stades, he came to Magnesia which was under the government of Tissaphernes; taking this city at the first assault, he then advanced speedily to Tralles in Ionia and began to lay siege to the city, but when he was unable to achieve any success because of its strong position, he turned back to Magnesia. And since the city was unwalled and Thibron therefore feared that at his departure Tissaphernes would get control of it, he transferred it to a neighbouring hill which men call Thorax; then Thibron, invading the territory of the enemy, glutted his soldiers with booty of every kind. But when Tissaphernes arrived with strong cavalry forces, he withdrew for security to Ephesus.

37. At this same time a group of the soldiers who had served in the campaign with Cyrus <sup>1</sup> and had got back safe to Greece went off each to his own country, but the larger part of them, about five thousand in number, since they had become accustomed to the life of a soldier, chose Xenophon for their general. And Xenophon with this army set out to make war on the Thracians who dwell around Salmydessus.<sup>2</sup> The territory of this city, which lies on the left side of the Pontus, stretches for a great distance and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A city on the west shore of the Black Sea some sixty miles from the Bosphorus.

3 πλείστα ποιεί ναυάγια. οί μεν οὖν Θράκες εἰώθεισαν περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἐφεδρεύοντες τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἐμπόρων αἰχμαλωτίζειν· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν μετὰ τῶν συνηθροισμένων στρατιωτῶν ἐμβαλὼν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν μάχη τε ἐνίκησε 4 καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν κωμῶν ἐνέπρησεν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θίβρωνος αὐτοὺς μεταπεμπομένου καὶ μισθοὺς ἐπαγγελλομένου δώσειν, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπεχώρησαν καὶ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπολέμουν τοῖς Πέρσαις.

5 Τ΄ούτων δὲ πραττομένων Διονύσιος μὲν ἐν τῆ Σικελία πόλιν ἔκτισεν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς Λἴτνης λόφον, καὶ ἀπό τινος ἐπιφανοῦς ἱεροῦ προσηγό-

6 ρευσεν αὐτὴν "Αδρανον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αρχέλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔν τινι κυνηγίω πληγεὶς ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ Κρατεροῦ τοῦ ἐρωμένου τὸν βίον μετήλλαξε, βασιλεύσας ἔτη ἑπτά· τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο 'Ορέστης παῖς ὤν, ὃν ἀνελὼν 'Αέροπος

7 ἐπίτροπος ὢν κατέσχε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτη ἔξ. ᾿Αθήνησι δὲ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος ὑπ' ᾿Ανύτου καὶ Μελήτου κατηγορηθεὶς ἐπ' ἀσεβεία καὶ φθορα τῶν νέων, θανάτω κατεδικάσθη καὶ πιὼν κώνειον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἀδίκου δὲ τῆς κατηγορίας γεγενημένης ὁ δῆμος μετεμελήθη, τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα θεωρῶν ἀνηρημένον διόπερ τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε καὶ τέλος ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτεινεν.

38. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθή-νησι μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν 'Αριστοκράτης παρέλαβεν, ἐν

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Xenophon (Anab. 7. 5. 12) states that "shoals extend far and wide."

is the cause of many shipwrecks.¹ Accordingly the 400 B.C. Thracians made it their practice to lie in wait in those parts and seize the merchants who were cast ashore as prisoners. Xenophon with the troops he had gathered invaded their territory, defeated them in battle, and burned most of their villages. After this, when Thibron sent for the soldiers with the promise to hire them, they withdrew to join him and made war with the Lacedaemonians against the Persians.

While these events were taking place, Dionysius founded in Sicily a city just below the crest of Mount Aetnê and named it Adranum, after a certain famous temple.2 In Macedonia King Archelaüs was unintentionally struck while hunting by Craterus, whom he loved, and met his end, after a reign of seven<sup>3</sup> years. He was succeeded on the throne by Orestes. who was still a boy and was slain by Aëropus, his guardian, who held the throne for six years. In Athens Socrates the philosopher, who was accused by Anytus and Meletus of impiety and of corrupting the youth, was condemned to death and met his end by drinking the hemlock. But since the accusation had been undeserved, the people repented, considering that so great a man had been put to death; consequently they were angered at the accusers and ultimately put them to death without trial.4

38. At the end of the year in Athens Aristocrates 399 B.O. entered the office of archon and in Rome the consular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> That of the god Adranus, the reputed father of the Palici, who were worshipped throughout all Sicily. See Book 11. 88. 6-89; Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 12. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Archelaüs was king 413-399 B.C.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This statement is to be doubted in the case of Meletus and is definitely false with respect to the other accusers of Socrates.

'Ρώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν εξ χιλίαρχοι διεδέξαντο, Γάιος Σερουίλιος καὶ Λούκιος Οὐεργίνιος,
Κόιντος Σουλπίκιος, Αὖλος Μουτίλιος, Μάνιος
2 Σέργιος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων
Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὸν Θίβρωνα κακῶς διοικοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, Δερκυλίδαν στρατηγὸν εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐξέπεμψαν· δς παραλαβὼν τὴν
δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Τρωάδι πόλεις.
3 'Αμάξιτον¹ μὲν οὖν καὶ Κολώνας καὶ 'Αρίσβαν
εἶλεν ἐξ ἐφόδου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα "Ιλιον καὶ Κεβρηνίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Τρωάδα
ἀς μὲν δόλω παρέλαβεν, ἀς δ' ἐκ βίας ἐχειρώσατο.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὀκταμηνιαίους
ἀνοχὰς ποιησάμενος, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θρᾶκας τοὺς
περὶ Βιθυνίαν τότε κατοικοῦντας· πορθήσας δ'
αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχειμασίαν.

4 Έν Ἡρακλεία δὲ τῆ περὶ Τραχῖνα στάσεως γενομένης Ἡριππίδαν ἐξέπεμψαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστήσοντα τὰ πράγματα. ὅς παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἡράκλειαν συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη, καὶ περιστήσας αὐτοῖς ὁπλίτας² συνέλαβε τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ πάντας ἀνεῖλεν, ὅντας περὶ πεντα-5 κοσίους. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Οἴτην κατοικούντων ἀποστάντων ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλοῖς περιβαλὼν κακοῖς ἡνάγκασεν ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι μετὰ τῶν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς Θεσσαλίαν, καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη κατήχθησαν ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν.²

1 So Rhodoman: aváfitor.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$  αὐτοῖς ὁπλίτας Hertlein (ch. 4, 6 ; Bk. 15, 75, 1) : ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις.

magistracy was taken over by six military tribunes, 399 B.C. Gaius Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Mutilius, and Manius Sergius.1 After these magistrates had entered office the Lacedaemonians, learning that Thibron was conducting the war inefficiently, dispatched Dercylidas as general to Asia; and he took over the army and advanced against the cities in the Troad. Now Hamaxitus and Colonae and Arisba he took at the first assault, then Ilium and Cerbenia and all the rest of the cities of the Troad. occupying some by craft and conquering the others by force. After this he concluded an armistice of cight months with Pharnabazus and advanced against the Thracians who were dwelling at that time in Bithynia; and after laying waste their territory he led his army off into winter quarters.

In Trachinian Heracleia civil discord had arisen and the Lacedaemonians sent Herippidas there to restore order. As soon as Herippidas arrived in Heracleia he called an assembly of the people, and surrounding them with his hoplites, he arrested the authors of the discord and put them all to death, some five hundred in number. And since the inhabitants about Oetê had revolted, he made war on them, subjected them to many hardships, and forced them to leave their land. The majority of them, together with their children and wives, fled into Thessaly, from where they were restored to their homes five years later by the Boeotians.

<sup>1</sup> There are only five names and the MSS vary greatly. Livy (5. 8) lists Gaius Servilius Ahala, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius, and Manius Sergius.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: είς Βοιωτίαν. Vogel suggests είς Οίταίαν.

6 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Θρᾶκες πολλοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον καὶ τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν πορθήσαντες τειχήρεις συνεῖχον τὰς ἐν αὐτῆ πόλεις. οἱ δὲ Χερρονησῖται πιεζόμενοι τῷ πολέμῳ μετεπέμψαντο Δερκυλίδαν τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἐκ 7 τῆς ᾿Ασίας. οὖτος δὲ διαβὰς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς μὲν Θρᾶκας ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, τὴν δὲ Χερρόνησον ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀρξάμενος μέχρι θαλάττης διετείχισεν. τοῦτο δὲ πράξας τοὺς μὲν Θρᾶκας ἐκώλυσε τῆς εἰς τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνον καταδρομῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς τιμηθεὶς διεβίβασε τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν.

39. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνοχῶν γενομένων ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ συνέπεισεν αὐτὸν στόλον ἐτοιμάσαι καὶ ναύαρχον ἐπιστῆσαι Κόνωνα τὸν ᾿Αθηναῖον· οὖτος γὰρ ῆν ἔμπειρος τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν πολεμίων¹· πολεμικώτατος² δ' ῶν ἐν Κύπρω διέτριβε παρ' Εὐαγόρα τῷ βασιλεῖ. πεισθέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Φαρνάβαζος λαβὼν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα πεντακόσια παρεσκευάζετο κατασκευάζειν ναυτικόν. διαπλεύσας οὖν εἰς Κύπρον τοῖς μὲν ἐκεῖ βασιλεῦσι παρήγγειλεν ἐκατὸν τριήρεις ἐτοιμάζειν, τῷ δὲ Κόνωνι περὶ τῆς ναυαρχίας διαλεχθεὶς ἐπέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἡγεμόνα, μεγάλας ὑποφαίνων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλπίδας. 3 δ δὲ Κόνων ἄμα μὲν ἐλπίζων ἀνακτήσεσθαι τῆ

monepikananas j poyas iteiske

<sup>1</sup> πολεμίων] ναυτικῶν Wesseling, πελαγίων Dindorf; Wurm suggests ἀγώνων ναυμαχιῶν.
2 πολεμικώτατος] φυγὰς Reiske.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Xenophon (*Hell.* 3. 2. 10) says that the isthmus was only 120

While these events were taking place, the Thracians 399 B.C. invaded the Chersonesus in great multitudes, laid waste the whole region, and held its cities beleaguered. The inhabitants of the Chersonesus, being hard pressed in the war, sent for the Lacedaemonian Dercylidas to come from Asia. He, crossing over with his army, drove the Thracians out of the country and shut off the Chersonesus by a wall which he ran from sea to sea. By this act he prevented any future descent of the Thracians; and after being honoured with great gifts he transported his army to Asia.

39. Pharnabazus, after the truce had been made with the Lacedaemonians, went back to the King and won him over to the plan of preparing a fleet and appointing Conon the Athenian as its admiral; for Conon was experienced in the encounters of war and especially in combat with the present enemy,2 and although he excelled in warfare, he was at the time in Cyprus at the court of Evagoras the king.3 After the King had been persuaded, Pharnabazus took five hundred talents of silver and prepared to fit out a naval force. Sailing across to Cyprus, he ordered the kings there to make ready a hundred triremes and then, after discussions with Conon about the command of the fleet, he appointed him supreme commander at sea, giving indications in the name of the King of great hopes Conon might entertain. Conon, in the hope not only that he would recover

daemonians. But the text may have mentioned instead his special experience in fighting at sea; cp. critical note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Conon had taken refuge with him after the battle of Aegospotami, fearing to return to Athens (Book 13. 106).

πατρίδι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, εἰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταπολεμηθεῖεν, ἄμα δ' αὐτὸς μεγάλης τεύξεσθαι δόξης, 4 προσεδέξατο τὴν ναυαρχίαν. οὔπω δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς παρεσκευασμένου τὰς ἐτοίμους ναῦς τετταράκοντα λαβὼν διέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, κἀκεῖ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡτοιμάζετο.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ Τισσαφέρνης ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων σατραπειῶν ἀθροίσαντες στρατιώτας ἀνέζευξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐφέσου τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενοι διὰ τὸ τοὺς 5 πολεμίους ἔχειν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δύναμιν. καὶ συνηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ μύριοι. ἀκούων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν ἔφοδον Δερκυλίδας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηγούμενος ἐξήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, ἔχων τοὺς πάντας οὐ πλείους τῶν ἐπτακισχιλίων. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγενήθη τὰ στρατόπεδα, σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο καὶ χρόνον ὥρισαν, ἐν ῷ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πέμψει περὶ συνθηκῶν, εὶ βούλοιτο καταλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον, Δερκυλίδας δὲ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις δηλώσει περὶ τούτων. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν οὕτω διέλυσαν τὰ στρατόπεδα.

40. 'Ρηγίνοι δὲ Χαλκιδέων ὅντες ἄποικοι τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ Διονυσίου χαλεπῶς ἐώρων. Ναξίους μὲν γὰρ καὶ Καταναίους συγγενεῖς ὅντας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῖς δὲ 'Ρηγίνοις, γένους¹ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μετέχουσι τοῖς ἠτυχηκόσιν, οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀγωνίαν παρεῖχε τὸ γεγονός, πάντων εὐλαβουμένων μὴ 122

the leadership in Greece for his native country if the 399 B.O. Lacedaemonians were subdued in war but also that he would himself win great renown, accepted the command. And before the entire fleet had been made ready, he took the forty ships which were at hand and sailed across to Cilicia, where he began

preparations for the war.

Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes gathered soldiers from their own satrapies and marched out, making their way towards Ephesus, since the enemy had their forces in that city. The army accompanying them numbered twenty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. On hearing of the approach of the Persians Dercylidas, the commander of the Lacedaemonians, led out his army, having in all not more than seven thousand men. But when the forces drew near each other, they concluded a truce and set a period of time during which Pharnabazus should send word to the King regarding the terms of the treaty, should he be ready to end the war, and Dercylidas should explain the matter to the Spartans. So upon this understanding the commanders dispersed their armies.

40. The inhabitants of Rhegium, who were colonists of Chalcis, were angered to see the growing power of Dionysius. For he had sold into slavery the Naxians and Catanians, their kinsmen, and to the Rhegians, because they were of the same blood as these unfortunate peoples, this act was the cause of no ordinary concern, since all feared the same disaster

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 15. <sup>2</sup> Or "they faced the same danger as."

<sup>1</sup> γένους added by Reiske. Post would read κινδύνου τοῦ αὐτοῦ; Vogel suggests γένους οὖσι for μετέχουσι.

2 ταις αὐταις συμφοραις περιπέσωσιν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς, πρὶν τελείως ἰσχυρον γενέσθαι τον τύραννον, στρατεύειν επ' αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος. παραχρημα δε συνεβάλοντο πρός τον πόλεμον οὐκ ἐλάχιστα καὶ οί φυγαδευθέντες των Συρακοσίων ύπο Διονυσίου. τότε γάρ οι πλειστοι διατρίβοντες έν 'Ρηγίω διετέλουν περί τούτων διαλεγόμενοι, διδάσκοντες ὅτι συνεπιθήσονται τω καιρώ πάντες οι Συρακόσιοι. 3 τέλος δὲ καταστήσαντες στρατηγούς, ἐξέπεμψαν μετ' αὐτῶν πεζοὺς μὲν έξακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ έξακοσίους, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα. οὖτοι δὲ διαπλεύσαντες τον πορθμον έπεισαν τους των Μεσσηνίων στρατηγούς κοινωνήσαι τοῦ πολέμου, φάσκοντες δεινον είναι περιιδείν αστυγείτονας Έλληνίδας πόλεις ἄρδην ἀνηρημένας ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. 4 οί μεν οθν στρατηγοί πεισθέντες τοις Υργίνοις άνευ της του δήμου γνώμης έξήγαγον τους στρατιώτας ήσαν δ' οῦτοι πεζοί μεν τετρακισχίλιοι, ίππεις δε τετρακόσιοι, τριήρεις δε τριάκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ προῆλθον αἱ προειρημέναι δυνάμεις πρὸς τοὺς όρους της Μεσσήνης, ενέπεσεν είς τους στρατιώτας στάσις, Λαομέδοντος τοῦ Μεσσηνίου δημηγορή-5 σαντος ούτος γαρ συνεβούλευε μη κατάρχεσθαι πολέμου πρός του Διονύσιον μηδεν αὐτους ήδικηκότα. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατιῶται, τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐπικεκυρωκότος³ τοῦ δήμου, παραχρημ' ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καταλι-6 πόντες ανέκαμψαν είς την πατρίδα. Υηγίνοι δ' οὐκ όντες αξιόμαχοι καθ' έαυτούς, έπειδη τους Μεσ-

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  παραχρήμα δὲ συνεβάλοντο Bezzel: παρὰ τοῦ 'Ρηγίνου λαβόνταs.  $^2$  So Wesseling: συνεπείσθησαν.  $^3$  So Wesseling: ἐπικεκηρυκότος.

would befall them. They therefore decided to take 399 B.C. the field speedily against the tyrant before he became entirely secure. Their decision upon war was forthwith supported strongly also by the Syracusans who had been exiled by Dionysius, for most of them were at that time resident in Rhegium and were continually discussing the matter and pointing out that all the Syracusans would seize the occasion to join in an attack. In the end the Rhegians appointed generals and sent out with them six thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and fifty triremes. The generals crossed the strait and induced the generals of the Messenians to join in the war, declaring that it would be a terrible thing for them to stand idly by when Greek cities, and their neighbours, had been totally destroyed by the tyrant. Now the generals were won over by the Rhegians and, without obtaining a vote of the people, led forth their forces which consisted of four thousand infantry, four hundred cavalry, and thirty triremes. But when the armaments we have mentioned had advanced as far as the borders of Messenê, opposition broke out among the soldiers due to a harangue delivered by the Messenian Laomedon; for he advised them not to begin a war against Dionysius who had done them no wrong. Accordingly the Messenian troops, since the people had not approved the war, followed his advice at once, and, deserting their generals, turned back home; and the Rhegians, since they were not strong enough alone for a battle, when they saw that the Messenians

σηνίους εώρων διαλύοντας τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ταχέως ἀνέκαμψαν εἰς 'Ρήγιον. Διονύσιος δέ τὸ μέν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Συρακοσίας έξήγαγε την δύναμιν, προσδεχόμενος την των πολεμίων ἔφοδον· ώς δ' ήκουσε τὴν ἀνάζευξιν αὐτῶν, 7 ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας· διαπρεσβευσαμένων δὲ τῶν 'Ρηγίνων καὶ τῶν Μεσ-σηνίων περὶ εἰρήνης, κρίνων¹ συμφέρον εἶναι διαλύεσθαι τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, συνέθετο

τὴν εἰρήνην.

41. 'Ορών δὲ τῶν 'Ελλήνων τινὰς εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν των Καρχηδονίων αποτρέχοντας τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς κτήσεις κομιζομένους, ἐνόμιζε τῆς πρός Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνης μενούσης πολλοὺς τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν ταττομένων βουλήσεσθαι κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀποστάσεως,² ἐὰν δὲ πόλεμος γένηται, πάντας τοὺς καταδεδουλωμένους ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων αποστήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· ήκουσε δὲ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων πολλοὺς ἐν Λιβύη διεφθάρθαι λοιμικῆ 2 καταστάσει περιπεσόντας. διὸ καὶ νομίζων εὔθετον έχειν καιρόν τοῦ πολέμου κατασκευὴν έκρινε δεῖν πρώτον γίνεσθαι· ύπελάμβανε γάρ έσεσθαι μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἂν πρὸς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην μέλλων 3 διαγωνίζεσθαι. εὐθὺς οὖν τοὺς τεχνίτας ἤθροιζεν έκ μέν των ύπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένων πόλεων κατά πρόσταγμα, τοὺς δ' ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔτι δὲ τῆς Καρχηδονίων ἐπικρατείας μεγάλοις μισθοῖς προτρεπόμενος. διενοεῖτο γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν παμπληθή και βέλη παντοία κατασκευάσαι, προς δε τούτοις ναθς τετρήρεις καὶ πεντήρεις, οδδέπω κατ' έκείνους τούς χρόνους σκάφους πεντηρικοῦ 126

were disbanding their army, also turned back speedily 399 B.C. to Rhegium. At the outset Dionysius had led out his army to the border of the Syracusan territory, awaiting the attack of the enemy; but when he learned of their retirement, he led his forces back to Syracuse. When the Rhegians and Messenians sent ambassadors to treat upon terms of peace, he decided that it was to his advantage to put an end to enmity

against these states and concluded peace.

41. When Dionysius observed that some of the Greeks were deserting to the Carthaginian domain, taking with them their cities and their estates, he concluded that so long as he was at peace with the Carthaginians many of his subjects would be wanting to join their defection, whereas, if there were war, all who had been enslaved by the Carthaginians would revolt to him. And he also heard that many Carthaginians in Libya had fallen victims to a plague which had raged among them. Thinking for these reasons, then, that he had a favourable occasion for war, he decided that preparation should first be effected; for he assumed that the war would be a great and protracted one since he was entering a struggle with the most powerful people of Europe. At once, therefore, he gathered skilled workmen, commandeering them from the cities under his control and attracting them by high wages from Italy and Greece as well as Carthaginian territory. his purpose was to make weapons in great numbers and every kind of missile, and also quadriremes and quinqueremes, no ship of the latter size having yet

So Stephanus : κρίνων περὶ εἰρήνης.
 So Wurm : ἐπιστασίας Vogel : ἐπιστάσεως.
 So Wesseling : τε τριήρεις.

4 νεναυπηγημένου. συναχθέντων δὲ πολλῶν τεχνιτων, διελών αὐτούς κατά τὰς οἰκείας ἐργασίας κατέστησε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους, προθείς δωρεάς μεγάλας τοίς κατασκευάσασιν ὅπλα. διέδωκε δὲ καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τὸν γένους έκάστου τύπον διὰ τὸ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν 5 συνεστηκέναι· έσπευδε γάρ έκαστον τῶν στρατευομένων κοσμήσαι τοις οίκείοις ὅπλοις, καὶ διελάμβανε² τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὴν έξειν κατάπληξιν διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ κατὰ τὰς μάχας κάλλιστα χρήσεσθαι τῷ συνήθει καθοπλισμῷ πάντας 6 τούς συναγωνιζομένους. συμπροθυμουμένων δέ καὶ των Συρακοσίων τῆ τοῦ Διονυσίου προαιρέσει, πολλήν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τήν φιλοτιμίαν περί τήν των όπλων κατασκευήν. ου μόνον γάρ έν τοις προνάοις καὶ τοῖς ὀπιοθοδόμοις τῶν ἱερῶν, ἔτι δὲ τοις γυμνασίοις καὶ ταις κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν στοαις, ἔγεμε πᾶς τόπος τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς τῶν δημοσίων τόπων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις

42. Καὶ γὰρ τὸ καταπελτικὸν εύρέθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν Συρακούσαις, ὡς ἂν τῶν κρατίστων τεχνιτῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς ἔνα τόπον συνηγμένων. τὴν γὰρ προθυμίαν τό τε μέγεθος τῶν μισθῶν ἐξεκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προκειμένων ἄθλων τοῖς ἀρίστοις κριθεῖσι· χωρὶς δὲ

οικίαις ὅπλα παμπληθη κατεσκευάζετο.

<sup>1</sup> τον γένους Vogel, τοῦ γένους Wesseling, προς γένος Reiske: το γένος.
2 So Stephanus: διελαμβάνετο.

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: κάλλιστον. 4 So Bekker: χρήσασθαι.

been built at that time. 1 After collecting many 399 B.C. skilled workmen, he divided them into groups in accordance with their skills, and appointed over them the most conspicuous citizens, offering great bounties to any who created a supply of arms. As for the armour, he distributed among them models of each kind, because he had gathered his mercenaries from many nations; for he was eager to have every one of his soldiers armed with the weapons of his people, conceiving that by such armour his army would, for this very reason, cause great consternation, and that in battle all of his soldiers would fight to best effect in armour to which they were accustomed. since the Syracusans enthusiastically supported the policy of Dionysius, it came to pass that rivalry rose high to manufacture the arms. For not only was every space, such as the porticoes and back rooms of the temples as well as the gymnasia and colonnades of the market place, crowded with workers, but the making of great quantities of arms went on, apart from such public places, in the most distinguished homes.

42. In fact the catapult was invented at this time in Syracuse, 2 since the ablest skilled workmen had been gathered from everywhere into one place. The high wages as well as the numerous prizes offered the workmen who were judged to be the best stimulated

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, pp. 130-131, questions the invention of quinqueremes at this time, since they are not heard of again until the time of Alexander the Great.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Machines for throwing heavy missiles were known to the Assyrians several centuries before this and their use was probably brought to the west by the Carthaginians, from whom the western Greeks learned of them.

τούτων περιπορευόμενος τούς έργαζομένους δ Διονύσιος καθ' ήμέραν λόγοις τε φιλανθρώποις έχρητο καὶ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους ἐτίμα δωρεαῖς καὶ πρὸς 2 τὰ συνδείπνια παρελάμβανε. διόπερ ἀνυπέρβλητον φιλοτιμίαν εἰσφέροντες οἱ τεχνῖται πολλὰ προσεπενοοῦντο βέλη καὶ μηχανήματα ξένα καὶ δυνάμενα παρέχεσθαι μεγάλας χρείας. ήρξατο δε ναυπηγεισθαι τετρήρεις και πεντηρικά σκάφη, πρώτος ταύτην την κατασκευήν των νεων έπινοήσας. 3 ακούων γαρ ο Διονύσιος εν Κορίνθω ναυπηγηθηναι τριήρη πρώτως, έσπευδε κατά την αποικισθείσαν ύπ' ἐκείνων πόλιν αὐξησαι τὸ μέγεθος της τῶν 4 νεών κατασκευής. λαβών δ' έκ τής 'Ιταλίας έξαγωγην ύλης, τούς μεν ημίσεις των ύλοτόμων είς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην ὄρος ἀπέστειλε, γέμον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους πολυτελοῦς ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης, τοὺς δ' ἡμίσεις εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀποστείλας παρεσκευάσατο ζεύγη μεν τὰ πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν κατακομιούντα, πλοία δέ καὶ τους υπηρέτας πρός τὸ τὰς σχεδίας ἀπάγεσθαι κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὰς 5 Συρακούσας. ό δὲ Διονύσιος ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἱκανὴν ύλην ήθροισεν, ύφ' ένα καιρον ήρξατο ναυπηγείσθαι ναθς πλείους των διακοσίων, επισκευάζειν δε τάς προϋπαρχούσας δέκα πρός ταις έκατόν ωκοδόμει δέ καὶ νεωσοίκους πολυτελεῖς κύκλω τοῦ νῦν μεγάλου καλουμένου λιμένος έκατον έξήκοντα, τους πλείστους δύο ναθς δεχομένους, καὶ τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας έθεράπευεν, όντας έκατὸν πεντήκοντα.

43. Διόπερ τοσούτων ὅπλων καὶ νεῶν κατα-

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling : τε τριήρεις.

their zeal. And over and above these factors, Diony- 899 B.O. sius circulated daily among the workers, conversed with them in kindly fashion, and rewarded the most zealous with gifts and invited them to his table. Consequently the workmen brought unsurpassable devotion to the devising of many missiles and engines of war that were strange and capable of rendering great service. He also began the construction of quadriremes and quinqueremes, being the first to think of the construction of such ships. For, hearing that triremes had first been built in Corinth, he was intent, in his city that had been settled by a colony from there, on increasing the scale of naval construc-After obtaining leave to transport timber from Italy he dispatched half of his woodmen to Mount Aetnê, on which there were heavy stands at that time of both excellent fir and pine, while the other half he dispatched to Italy, where he got ready teams to convey the timber to the sea, as well as boats and crews to bring the worked wood speedily to Syracuse. When Dionysius had collected an adequate supply of wood, he began at one and the same time to build more than two hundred ships and to refit the one hundred and ten he already had; and he also constructed all about the Great Harbour, as it is now called, one hundred and sixty costly shipsheds, most of which could accommodate two vessels, and repaired the one hundred and fifty which were already there.

43. With so many arms and ships under construc-

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> πρώτως Vogel: πρῶτος PA, πρῶτος cet.
 <sup>3</sup> δὲ Eichstädt: τε.
 <sup>4</sup> μεγάλου added by Wesseling.
 <sup>5</sup> So Reiske: οἴκων.

σκευαζομένων έν ένὶ τόπω, τὸ γινόμενον πολλήν παρείχε τοίς θεωμένοις κατάπληξιν ότε μέν γάρ τις ἴδοι τὴν περὶ τὰς ναῦς σπουδήν, ἐνόμιζε περὶ ταύτας ἄπαντας πραγματεύεσθαι τους Σικελιώτας. ότε δὲ πάλιν τοῖς τῶν ὁπλοποιῶν καὶ μηχανοποιῶν έργοις συμπαραγενηθείη, περί τούτους μόνους ένόμίζεν ἄπασαν είναι τὴν τῆς ὑπηρεσίας παρασκευήν. 2 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς ἀνυπερβλήτου γινομένης, κατεσκευάσθησαν ασπίδων μέν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα μυριάδες, έγχειριδίων δὲ καὶ περικεφαλαιών ο παραπλήσιος άριθμός ήτοιμάσθησαν δὲ καὶ θώρακες, παντοίοι μὲν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, περιττώς δε κατά την τέχνην είργασμένοι, πλείους 3 τῶν μυρίων τετρακισχιλίων. τούτους δὲ διενοεῖτο διαδιδόναι τοις ίππευσι και των πεζών τοις έφ' ήγεμονίας τεταγμένοις, ἔτι δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοίς σωματοφυλακεῖν μέλλουσιν. κατεσκευάσθησαν δὲ καὶ καταπέλται παντοῖοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βελῶν 4 πολύς τις ἀριθμός. τῶν δὲ παρασκευασθεισῶν νεῶν μακρῶν αἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν² εἶχον πολιτικοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ πρωρεῖς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ταῖς κώπαις χρησομένους, ταις δ' άλλαις ο Διονύσιος ξένους έμισθώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ την δπλοποιίαν αὐτῷ συντέλειαν ἐλάμβανε, περὶ τήν των στρατιωτων παρασκευήν εγίνετο τούτους γάρ ἔκρινε συμφέρειν μη πρό πολλοῦ μισθοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ πολλὰς γίνεσθαι δαπάνας.

' Αστυδάμας δ' δ τραγωδιογράφος τότε πρώτον εδίδαξεν εζησε δε ετη εξήκοντα.

'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ πολιορκοῦντες τοὺς Βηίους, ἐξελ-

1 So Hertlein : διδόναι. <sup>2</sup> So Post: αὐτῶν. Vogel suggests deletion.

tion at one place the beholder was filled with utter 300 B.G. wonder at the sight. For whenever a man gazed at the eagerness shown in the building of the ships, he thought that every Greek in Sicily was engaged on their construction; and when, on the other hand, he visited the places where men were making arms and engines of war, he thought that all available labour was engaged in this alone. Moreover, despite the unsurpassable zeal devoted to the products we have mentioned, there were made one hundred and forty thousand shields and a like number of daggers and helmets; and in addition corselets were made ready, of every design and wrought with utmost art, more than fourteen thousand in number. Dionysius expected to distribute to his cavalry and the commanders of the infantry, as well as to the mercenaries who were to form his bodyguard. also had catapults made of every style and a large number of the other missiles. For half of the ships of war which were prepared, the pilots, officers at the bow, and rowers were drawn from citizens, while for the rest of the vessels Dionysius hired mercenaries. When the building of the ships and the making of arms were completed, Dionysius turned his attention to the gathering of soldiers; for he believed it advantageous not to hire them far in advance in order to avoid heavy expenses.

In this year Astydamas, the writer of tragedies, produced his first play; and he lived sixty years.

The Romans were besieging Veii, and when a sortie

<sup>1</sup> Of Athens.

<sup>3</sup> δè added by Reiske.

<sup>4</sup> So Wesseling : Boious.

 $\theta$ όντων τ $\hat{\omega}$ ν¹ έκ τ $\hat{\eta}$ ς πόλεως οἱ μèν κατεκόπησαν

ύπὸ τῶν Βηίων, οἱ δ' ἐξέφυγον αἰσχρῶς.

44. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν ήρξεν 'Ιθυκλής, εν 'Ρώμη δ' αντί των υπάτων χιλίαρχοι πέντε κατεστάθησαν, Λεύκιος 'Ιούλιος, Μάρκος Φούριος, Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος, Γάιος Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος. Διονύσιος δ' δ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος, ἐπειδή τῶν περὶ τὴν ὁπλοποιίαν καὶ ναυπηγίαν ἔργων τὰ πλεῖστα συντέλειαν εἰλήφει, περί τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρασκευὴν εὐθὺς 2 έγένετο. των οῦν Συρακοσίων κατέλεγε τοὺς έπιτηδείους εἰς τάξεις, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένων πόλεων μετεπέμπετο τοὺς εὐθέτους. συνήγαγε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα παρά τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὖτοι γὰρ αὐτῷ συναύξοντες την άρχην έδωκαν εξουσίαν όσους βούλοιτο παρ' αὐτῶν ξενολογεῖν. καθόλου δ' ἐκ πολλών έθνών σπεύδων το ξενικον στρατόπεδον συνηθροικέναι καὶ μισθούς πολλούς ἐπαγγελλόμενος, ευρισκε τους υπακούοντας.

Μέλλων δὲ μέγαν ἐξεγείρειν πόλεμον, ταῖς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο, τὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐκκαλούμενος. τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τὸν πορθμὸν κατοικοῦντας 'Ρηγίνους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους όρῶν ἰκανὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντας συντεταγμένην, εὐλαβεῖτο μήποτε τῶν Καρχηδονίων διαβάντων εἰς Σικελίαν ἐκείνοις πρόσθωνται· οὐ μικρὰν γὰρ αἱ πόλεις αὖται ροπὴν εἶχον, ὁποτέροις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τῶν added by Eichstädt.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wesseling : Βοιῶν.

was made from the city, some of the Romans were 390 B.O. cut to pieces by the Veientes and others escaped by

shameful flight.

44. When this year had come to an end, Ithycles 398 B.C. was archon in Athens and in Rome five military tribunes were established in place of the consuls, Lucius Julius, Marcus Furius, Marcus Aemilius, Gaius Cornelius, and Caeso Fabius. Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, as soon as the major part of the task of making arms and building a fleet was completed, turned at once to the gathering of soldiers. From the Syracusans he enrolled those who were fit for military service in companies and from the cities subject to him he summoned their able men. He also gathered mercenaries from Greece, and especially from the Lacedaemonians, for they, in order to aid him in building up his power, gave him permission to enlist as many mercenaries from them as he might wish. And, speaking generally, since he made a point of gathering his mercenary force from many nations and promised high pay, he found men who were responsive.

Since Dionysius was going to raise up a great war, he addressed himself to the cities of Sicily with courtesy, eliciting their goodwill. He saw that the Rhegians and Messenians who dwelt on the Strait 1 had a strong army mobilized and he feared that, when the Carthaginians crossed over to Sicily, they would join the Carthaginians; for these cities would add no little weight to the side with which they allied themselves for the war. Since these considerations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Strait of Messina.

<sup>3</sup> συνηθροικέναι] Vogel suggests συναθροίσαι.

4 συμμαχήσειαν. ἃ δὴ λίαν ἀγωνιῶν ὁ Διονύσιος τοις Μεσσηνίοις έδωκε πολλήν της δμόρου χώραν, ίδίους αὐτοὺς κατασκευάζων ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις: πρὸς δὲ 'Ρηγίνους ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτάς, παρακαλῶν έπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ δοῦναι τῶν πολιτικῶν παρθένων αὐτῷ μίαν συμβιώσασθαι ἐπηγγέλλετο δ' αὐτοῖς πολλὴν τῆς συνοριζούσης χώρας κατακτήσεσθαι, την πόλιν δ' αυξήσειν έφ' όσον αν αυτός 5 ἰσχύη. τῆς γὰρ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, θυγατρὸς δ' Έρμοκράτους, κατά την ἀπόστασιν τῶν ἱππέων άνηρημένης, ἔσπευδε τεκνοποιήσασθαι, διαλαμβάνων τῆ τῶν γεννηθέντων εὐνοία βεβαιότατα τηρήσειν την δυναστείαν. οὐ μην άλλ' έν τω 'Ρηγίω συναχθείσης περί τούτων έκκλησίας, καί πολλών ρηθέντων λόγων, έδοξε τοις 'Ρηγίνοις μή 6 δέξασθαι την ἐπιγαμίαν. Διονύσιος δ' ἀποτυχών ταύτης της επιβολής, περί των αὐτων ἀπέστειλε τούς πρεσβευτάς πρός τον δήμον των Λοκρών. ών ψηφισαμένων την επιγαμίαν, εμνήστευεν ό Διονύσιος Δωρίδα τὴν² Εενέτου θυγατέρα, κατ' έκεινον τὸν χρόνον ὄντος ἐνδοξοτάτου τῶν πολιτῶν. 7 ολίγαις δ' ήμέραις πρό των γάμων ἀπέστειλεν είς Λοκρούς πεντήρη πρώτον νεναυπηγημένην, άργυροίς και χρυσοίς κατασκευάσμασι κεκοσμημένην. έφ' ής διακομίσας την παρθένον είς τὰς Συρακούσας 8 εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐμνηστεύσατο δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην 'Αριστο-

 <sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: κατακτήσασθαι.
 2 τὴν Stephanus: τε τήν.
 3 So Eichstädt; πολιτῶν,
 36

were the cause of great concern to Dionysius, he 398 B.C. made a present to the Messenians of a large piece of territory on their borders, binding them to him by such a benefaction; and to the Rhegians he dispatched ambassadors, urging them to form a connection by marriage and to give him in marriage a maiden who was a citizen of theirs; and he promised that he would win for them a large section of neighbouring territory and do all that was in his power to add to the strength of their city. For since his wife, the daughter of Hermocrates, had been slain at the time the cavalry revolted,1 he was eager to beget children, in the belief that the loyalty of his offspring would be the strongest safeguard of his tyrannical power. Nevertheless, when an assembly of the people was held in Rhegium to consider Dionysius' proposal, after much discussion the Rhegians voted not to accept the marriage connection.2 Now that Dionysius had failed of this design, he dispatched his ambassadors for the same purpose to the people of the Locrians.3 When they voted to approve the marriage connection, Dionysius sued for the hand of Doris, the daughter of Xenetus, who at that time was their most esteemed citizen. A few days before the marriage he sent to Locri a quinquereme, the first one he had built, embellished with silver and gold furnishings; on this he had the maiden conveyed to Syracuse, where he led her into the acropolis. And he also sought in marriage from among the people of his city the most notable maiden among them, Aristomachê,4

More on the reply in chap. 107.
 The Epizephyrian Locrians in the "toe" of Italy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 13, 112, 4,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Daughter of Hipparinus and sister of the famous Dion

μάχην, εφ' ην αποστείλας λευκόν τέθριππον ηγαγεν είς την ίδιαν οικίαν.

45. Περί δε τον αὐτον χρόνον ἀμφοτέρας γήμας συνεγείς έστιάσεις έποιείτο των στρατιωτών καί των πλείστων πολιτων ι άπετίθετο γάρ ήδη τό πικρον της τυραννίδος, και μεταβαλλόμενος είς επιείκειαν φιλανθρωπότερον ήρχε των υποτεταγπένων, οὔτε φονεύων οὔτε φυγάδας ποιῶν, καθάπερ 2 εἰώθει. μετά δε τους γάμους ολίγας επιμείνας ήμέρας συνήγαγεν εκκλησίαν καὶ παρεκάλει τοὺς Συρακοσίους πόλεμον έξενεγκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀποφαίνων αὐτοὺς καθόλου μὲν τοῖς Έλλησιν ἐχθροτάτους ὄντας, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Σι-3 κελιώταις διὰ παντός ἐπιβουλεύοντας. καὶ νῦν μεν εφ' ήσυχίας αὐτοὺς μένειν ἀπεδείκνυε διὰ τὸν έμπεσόντα λοιμόν, δν τούς πλείστους τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην διεφθαρκέναι ισχύσαντας δ' αὐτοὺς οὐκ αφέξεσθαι των Σικελιωτών, οίς έξ αρχαίων έπιβουλεύουσιν. διὸ αίρετώτερον νῦν είναι πρὸς ἀσθενεῖς αὐτοὺς ὄντας διαπολεμεῖν ἢ μετὰ ταῦτα 4 πρὸς ἰσχυροὺς διαγωνίζεσθαι. ἄμα δὲ συνίστα δεινον είναι περιοράν τὰς Ελληνίδας πόλεις ὑπὸ βαρβάρων καταδεδουλωμένας, ας έπὶ τοσοῦτον συνεπιλήψεσθαι των κινδύνων, ἐφ' ὅσον τῆς ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς λόγους πρός ταύτην την προαίρεσιν διαλεχθείς ταχύ 5 συγκαταίνους έλαβε τους Συρακοσίους. ου γάρ ήττον ἐκείνου τὸν πόλεμον ἔσπευδον γενέσθαι, πρώτον μέν μισοῦντες τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, δι' ἐκείνους

So Eichstädt: πόλεων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> και after Καρχηδονίους (PAL, omitted cet.) deleted by Vogel, ώs for και other editors.

for whom he dispatched a chariot drawn by four 398 B.C.

white horses to bring her to his own home.

45. After Dionysius had taken in marriage both maidens at the same time, he gave a series of public dinners for the soldiers and the larger part of the citizens; for he now renounced the oppressive aspect of his tyranny, and changing to a course of equitable dealing, he ruled over his subjects in more humane fashion, no more putting them to death or banishing them, as had been his practice. After his marriages he let a few days pass and then called an assembly of the Syracusans and urged them to make war against the Carthaginians, declaring that they were most hostile to all Greeks generally and that they had designs at every opportunity on the Greeks of Sicily in particular. For the present, he pointed out, the Carthaginians were inactive because of the plague which had broken out among them and had destroyed the larger part of the inhabitants of Libya, but when they had recovered their strength, they would not refrain from attacking the Sicilian Greeks, against whom they had been plotting from the earliest time. It was therefore preferable, he continued, to wage a decisive war upon them while they were weak than to wait and compete when they were strong. At the same time he pointed out how terrible a thing it was to allow the Greek cities to be enslaved by barbarians, and that these cities would the more zealously join in the war, the more eagerly they desired to obtain their freedom. After speaking at length in support of his policy he speedily won the approval of the Indeed they were no less eager than he for war, first of all because of their hatred of the Carthaginians who were the cause of their being

ηναγκασμένοι ποιείν το προσταττόμενον ύπο τοῦ τυράννου έπειτα δε καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον φιλανθρωπότερον έαυτοις ήλπιζον χρήσεσθαι, φοβούμενον τούς πολεμίους και την από των καταδεδουλωμένων ἐπίθεσιν τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἤλπιζον ἑαυτοὺς κυριεύσαντας ὅπλων, ἐὰν ἡ τύχη δῷ καιρόν, ἀντι-

λήψεσθαι της έλευθερίας.

46. Μετά δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦ Διονυσίου τὴν έξουσίαν δόντος, οί Συρακόσιοι τὰ Φοινικικά χρήματα διήρπασαν. οὐκ ὀλίγοι γὰρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὤκουν ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις άδρὰς ἔχοντες κτήσεις, πολλοί δε καί τῶν ἐμπόρων είχον ἐν τῷ λιμένι τὰς ναῦς γεμούσας φορτίων, ἃ πάντα² διε-2 φόρησαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποί Σικελιώται τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἰκοῦντας τών Φοινίκων ἐκβαλόντες τὰς κτήσεις διήρπασαν. καίπερ γὰρ τὴν Διονυσίου τυραννίδα μισοῦντες, όμως ήδέως έκοινώνουν τοῦ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους 3 πολέμου διὰ τὴν ὢμότητα τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ὧν δὴ χάριν καὶ οἱ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις οἰκοῦντες ὑπὸ3 Καρχηδονίους, επειδή φανερώς ο Διονύσιος εξέφερε τον πόλεμον, εναπεδείξαντο το προς τους Φοίνικας μίσος οὐ μόνον γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας διήρπασαν, άλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς συλλαμβάνοντες πᾶσαν αἰκίαν καὶ ύβριν είς τὰ σώματ' αὐτῶν ἀπετίθεντο, μνημονεύον-4 τες ὧν αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν ἔπαθον. ἐπὶ τοσούτον δὲ τῆς κατὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τιμωρίας προέβησαν καὶ τότε καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὕστερον χρόνον, ώστε τους Καρχηδονίους διδαχθήναι μηκέτι παρα-

<sup>1</sup> So Eichstädt : χρησθαι.

compelled to take orders from the tyrant; secondly, 898 B.C. because they hoped that Dionysius would treat them in more humane fashion because of his fear of the enemy and of an attack upon him by the citizens he had enslaved; but most of all, because they hoped that once they had got weapons in their hand, they could strike for their liberty, let Fortune but give

them the opportunity.

46. After the meeting of the assembly the Syracusans, with the permission of Dionysius, seized as plunder the property of the Phoenicians; for no small number of Carthaginians had their homes in Syracuse and rich possessions, and many also of their merchants had vessels in the harbour loaded with goods, all of which the Syracusans plundered. Similarly the rest of the Sicilian Greeks drove out the Phoenicians who dwelt among them and plundered their possessions; for although they hated the tyranny of Dionysius, they were still glad to join in the war against the Carthaginians because of the cruelty of that people. For the very same reasons, too, the inhabitants of the Greek cities under the rule of the Carthaginians, as soon as Dionysius publicly enacted war, made open display of their hatred of the Phoenicians; for not only did they seize their property as plunder, but they also laid hands on their persons and subjected them to every kind of physical torture and outrage, remembering what they had themselves suffered during the time of their captivity. So far did they go in the vengeance they wreaked on the Phoenicians both at this time and subsequently, that the Carthaginians were taught

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> å πάντα Madvig, Cobet : ὧν ἄπαντα.
<sup>3</sup> ὑπὸ] τὰς ὑπὸ Dindorf.

νομεῖν εἰς τοὺς ὑποπεσόντας οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν, δι αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων μαθόντες, ὅτι τοῖς διαπολεμοῦσι κοινῆς τῆς τύχης ὑπαρχούσης ἀμφοτέρους κατὰ τὰς ἥττας τοιαῦτα ἀνάγκη πάσχειν, οἶα ἂν αὐτοὶ

πράξωσιν είς τούς άτυχήσαντας.

'Ο δ' οὖν Διονύσιος, ἐπειδὴ πάντ' αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡτοίμαστο, διενοεῖτο πέμπειν ἀγγέλους εἰς Καρχηδόνα τοὺς ἐροῦντας, ὅτι Συρακόσιοι καταγγέλλουσι πόλεμον Καρχηδονίοις, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καταδεδουλωμένας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἐλευθερώσωσιν.

Διονύσιος μέν οὖν περὶ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο.

6 Κτησίας δ' δ συγγραφεύς την των Περσικών ίστορίαν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστροφεν, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ Νίνου καὶ Σεμιράμεως. ἤκμασαν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ ἐπισημότατοι διθυραμβοποιοί, Φιλόξενος Κυθήριος, Τιμόθεος Μιλήσιος, Τελέστης Σελινούντιος, Πολύειδος, δς καὶ ζω-

γραφικής καί μουσικής είχεν έμπειρίαν.

47. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν παρειλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν Λυσιάδης, ἐν δὲ τῷ 'Ρώμῃ τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν διώκουν χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Πόπλιος Μάλλιος, Πούπλιος Μαίλιος, Σπόριος Φούριος, Λεύκιος Πούπλιος. Διονύσιος δ' ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν, ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα κήρυκα, δοὺς ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ γεγραμ-

<sup>1</sup> τον omitted PF, Vogel.

the lesson no more to transgress the law in their 398 B.C. treatment of conquered peoples; for they did not fail to realize, learning as they did by very deeds, that in war Fortune is impartial to both combatants and in defeat both sides must suffer the same sort of thing that they themselves have done to those who were unfortunate.

Now when Dionysius had made ready all his preparations for the war, he determined to send messengers to Carthage with the announcement: The Syracusans declare war upon the Carthaginians unless they restore freedom to the Greek cities that they have enslaved.

Dionysius, then, was engaged in the affairs we

have discussed.

Ctesias <sup>1</sup> the historian ended with this year his History of the Persians, which began with Ninus and Semiramis. And in this year the most distinguished composers of dithyrambs were in their prime, Philoxenus of Cythera, Timotheüs of Miletus, Telestus of Selinus, and Polyeidus, who was also expert in the arts of painting and music.

47. At the close of the year, in Athens Lysiades <sup>2</sup> <sub>307 B.C.</sub> became archon, and in Rome six military tribunes administered the office of consul, Popilius Mallius, Publius Maelius, Spurius Furius, and Lucius Publius. <sup>3</sup> When Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, had completed all his preparations for the war according to his personal design, he sent a herald to Carthage, having given him a letter to the senate, which con-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 1. 32. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The name should be Suniades (Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 12817).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> There are only four names and they differ considerably from those in Livy, 5. 12.

μένον ην ὅτι Συρακοσίοις δεδογμένον εἴη¹ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ἐὰν μὴ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἐκχωρήσωσιν. οὖτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸ παραγγελθὲν πλεύσας εἰς Λιβύην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέδωκε τῆ γερουσία. ης ἀναγνωσθείσης ἔν τε τῆ συγκλήτω καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐν τῷ δήμω συνέβη τοὺς Καρχηδονίους οὐ μετρίως ἀγωνιῶν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὅ τε γὰρ λοιμὸς αὐτῶν παμπληθεῖς ἀπεκτάγκει καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἦσαν ἀπαρασκεύαστοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν ἐκαραδόκουν τὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων προαίρεσιν καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστειλάν τινας τῶν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τοὺς ξενολογήσοντας ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης.

4 Διονύσιος δ' ἀναλαβών τοὺς Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, ἐπ' Ἔρυκος τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος. οὐ μακρὰν γὰρ τοῦ λόφου τούτου Μοτύη πόλις ἡν ἄποικος Καρχηδονίων, ἡ μάλιστα ἐχρῶντο κατὰ τῆς Σικελίας ὁρμητηρίω ταύτης γὰρ κρατήσας ἤλπιζεν οὐκ ὀλίγα προτερήσειν τῶν πολεμίων. 5 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἀεὶ παρελάμβανε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, πανδημεὶ καθοπλίζων.

των Ελληνίδων πόλεων, πανδημεί καθοπλίζων συνεστρατεύοντο γὰρ αὐτῷ προθύμως ἄπαντες, μισοῦντες μὲν τὸ βάρος τῆς των Φοινίκων ἐπικρατείας, ἐπιθυμοῦντες δὲ τυχεῖν ποτε τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

6 καὶ πρώτους μὲν Καμαριναίους παρέλαβεν, εἶτα Γελώους καὶ ᾿Ακραγαντίνους μεθ᾽ οΰς Ἱμεραίους μετεπέμψατο, κατοικοῦντας ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς Σικελίας Σελινουντίους δ᾽ ἐν² παρόδω προσαγαγόμενος παρεγενήθη πρὸς τὴν Μοτύην μετὰ πάσης

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$   $\epsilon \tilde{i}\eta$  Hertlein :  $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ .  $^{2}$   $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$  added by Stephanus.

tained the statement that the Syracusans had re- 207 B.C. solved to make war upon the Carthaginians unless they withdrew from the Greek cities. The herald accordingly, pursuant to his orders, sailed to Libya and delivered the letter to the senate. When it had been read in the council and subsequently before the people, it came about that the Carthaginians were not a little distressed at the thought of war; for the plague had killed great numbers of them, and they were also totally unprepared. Nevertheless, they waited for the Syracusans to take the initiative and dispatched members of the senate with large sums of money to recruit mercenaries in Europe. 1

Dionysius with the Syracusans, the mercenaries, and his allies marched forth from Syracuse and made his way towards Eryx.2 For not far from this hill lay the city of Motyê, a Carthaginian colony, which they used as their chief base of operations against Sicily; and Dionysius hoped that with this city in his power he would have no small advantage over his enemies. In the course of his march he received from time to time the contingents from the Greek cities, supplying the full levy of each with arms; for they were all eager to join his campaign, hating as they did the heavy hand of Phoenician domination and relishing the prospect at last of freedom. He received first the levy from Camarina, then those of Gela and Acragas; and after these he sent for the Himeraeans, whose home was on the other side of Sicily, and after adding the men of Selinus, as he passed by, he arrived

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 4. 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Presumably in Spain, where Hannibal had formerly gathered mercenaries (Book 13. 44).

<sup>3</sup> So Eichstädt: προσαγόμενος.

7 της δυνάμεως. είχε δὲ πεζούς μὲν ὀκτακισμυρίους, ίππεις δε πολύ πλείους των τρισχιλίων, ναθς δε μακράς οὐ πολύ λειπούσας τῶν διακοσίων συνηκολούθει δὲ καὶ φορτηγὰ πλοῖα γέμοντα πολλῶν μηχανημάτων, έτι δε της άλλης χορηγίας άπάσης, όντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐκ ἐλάττω πεντακοσίων.

48. Τηλικαύτης δὲ τῆς παρασκευῆς οὔσης, Ἐρυκίνοι μεν καταπλαγέντες το μέγεθος της δυνάμεως καὶ μισοῦντες Καρχηδονίους προσεχώρησαν τῶ Διονυσίω, οί δὲ τὴν Μοτύην κατοικοθντες προσδεχόμενοι την έκ Καρχηδονίων βοήθειαν οὐ κατεπλήττοντο την Διονυσίου δύναμιν, αλλά πρός τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζοντο οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόουν τους Συρακοσίους ότι πρώτην την Μοτύην πορθήσουσι διὰ τὸ πιστοτάτην είναι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. 2 αύτη δ' ή πόλις ην ἐπί τινος νήσου κειμένη, της Σικελίας απέχουσα σταδίους έξ, τῶ δὲ πλήθει καὶ τῶ κάλλει τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν πεφιλοτεχνημένη διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν κατοικούντων. εἶχε δὲ καὶ όδὸν στενὴν χειροποίητον φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν της Σικελίας αιγιαλόν, ην οι Μοτυηνοι τότε διέσκαψαν, ώς μη προσόδους έχοιεν κατ' αὐτῶν οί

Διονύσιος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων κατασκεψάμενος τους τόπους, ήρξατο χώματα κατασκευάζειν ἐπὶ τὴν Μοτύην, καὶ τὰς μὲν μακράς ναθς παρά τον εἴσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐνεώλκησε, τὰ δὲ φορτηγά τῶν πλοίων ὥρμισε παρά τὸν αἰγιαλόν.

4 μετά δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἔργων κατέλιπεν ἐπιστάτην Λεπτίνην τὸν ναύαρχον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς

πολέμιοι.

at Motyê with all his army. He had eighty thousand 397 B.C. infantry, well over three thousand cavalry, and a little less than two hundred warships, and he was accompanied by not less than five hundred merchantmen loaded with great numbers of engines of war

and all the other supplies needed.

48. Since the armament was on the great scale we have described, the people of Eryx were awed by the magnitude of the force and, hating the Carthaginians as they did, came over to Dionysius. The inhabitants of Motyê, however, expecting aid from the Carthaginians, were not dismayed at Dionysius' armament, but made ready to withstand a siege; for they were not unaware that the Syracusans would make Motyê the first city to sack, because it was most loyal to the Carthaginians. This city was situated on an island lying six stades off Sicily, and was embellished artistically to the last degree with numerous fine houses, thanks to the prosperity of the inhabitants. It also had a narrow artificial causeway extending to the shore of Sicily, which the Motvans breached at this time, in order that the enemy should have no approach against them.

Dionysius, after reconnoitring the area, together with his engineers, began to construct moles leading to Motyê, hauled the warships up on land at the entrance of the harbour, and moored the merchantmen along the beach. After this he left Leptines 1 his admiral in command of the works, while he himself

# <sup>1</sup> Brother of the tyrant.

<sup>1</sup> πολύ deleted by Dindorf, Vogel. <sup>2</sup> So Rhodoman : δύναμιν. 3 So Rhodoman : βοήθειαν.

<sup>4</sup> πρώτην Hertlein, πρώτως Post: πρῶτοι PAL, πρῶτον cet. <sup>5</sup> So Wesseling: προόδοις P, προόδους cet.

πεζης στρατιας ώρμησεν έπὶ τὰς τοις Καρχηδονίοις συμμαχούσας πόλεις. Σικανοί μέν οὖν πάντες¹ εὐλαβούμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως προσεχώρησαν τοις Συρακοσίοις, των δε άλλων πόλεων πέντε μόνον διέμειναν έν² τῆ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους φιλία· αὖται δὲ ἦσαν 'Αλικύαι,' Σολοῦς, Αἴγεστα, 5 Πάνορμος, "Εντελλα. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν Σολουντίνων καὶ Πανορμιτών, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Αλικυαίων χώραν δ Διονύσιος λεηλατήσας έδενδροτόμησε, την δε Αίγεσταν καὶ "Εντελλαν πολλη δυνάμει περιστρατοπεδεύσας συνεχεῖς ἐποιεῖτο προσβολάς, σπεύδων αὐτῶν μετὰ βίας κυριεῦσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περί Διονύσιον έν τούτοις ήν.

49. Ἰμίλκων δὲ ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ τὸν τῶν δυνάμεων ἀθροισμὸν καὶ την άλλην εγίνετο παρασκευήν, τον δε ναύαρχον μετά δέκα τριήρων ἀπέστειλε, κελεύσας κατά τάχος λάθρα πλεῖν ως ἐπὶ Συρακοσίους, καὶ νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα πλεύσαντα διαφθείραι τὰ καταλελειμ-2 μένα τῶν πλοίων. τοῦτο δ' ἔπραξε νομίζων ἀντιπερισπασμόν τινα ποιήσειν καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον αναγκάσειν μέρος των πλοίων αποστέλλειν έπὶ Συρακοσίους. ό δὲ πεμφθεὶς ναύαρχος συντόμως πράξας τὸ παραγγελθέν, κατέπλευσε νυκτὸς εἰς τον των Συρακοσίων λιμένα, πάντων άγνοούντων τὸ γεγενημένον. ἀπροσδοκήτως δ' ἐπιθέμενος καὶ τοις παρορμούσι πλοίοις έμβολας δούς και σχεδόν ἄπαντα καταδύσας,⁵ ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς Καρχηδόνα. 3 Διονύσιος δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους χώραν

<sup>1</sup> οὖν πάντες Stephanus: παναυτῶν P, πάντες cet. 2 ev added by Eichstädt.

set out with the infantry of his army against the cities 307 B.C. that were allies of the Carthaginians. Now the Sicani, fearing the great size of the army, all went over to the Syracusans, and of the rest of the cities only five remained loyal to the Carthaginians, these being Halicyae, Solûs, Aegesta, Panormus, and Entella. Hence Dionysius plundered the territory of Solûs and Panormus, and that also of Halicyae, and cut down the trees on it, but he laid siege to Aegesta and Entella with strong forces and launched continuous attacks upon them, seeking to get control of them by force. Such was the state of the affairs of Dionysius.

49. Himilton, the general of the Carthaginians, being himself busy with the mustering of the armaments and other preparations, dispatched his admiral with ten triremes under orders to sail speedily in secret against the Syracusans,2 enter the harbour by night, and destroy the shipping left behind there. This he did, expecting to cause a diversion and force Dionysius to send part of his fleet back to the Syracusans. The admiral who had been dispatched carried out his orders with promptness and entered the harbour of the Syracusans by night while everyone was ignorant of what had taken place. Attacking unawares, he rammed the vessels lying at anchor along the shore, sank practically all of them, and then returned to Carthage. Dionysius, after ravaging all the territory held by the Carthaginians and forcing

> <sup>1</sup> On the origin of the Sicani see Book 5. 6. <sup>2</sup> "To Syracuse" is meant, as also just below.

So Dindorf: τήν τε τῶν Αἰγεσταίων καὶ Ἐντελλάνων.
<sup>5</sup> So Wesseling: καταλύσας.

δηώσας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τειχήρεις ποιήσας, ἐπὶ τὴν Μοτύην ἄπασαν ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἤλπιζε γὰρ ταύτης ἐκπολιορκηθείσης τὰς ἄλλας εὐθέως αὐτὰς παραδώσειν. εὐθὺς οὖν πολλαπλασίους ἄνδρας τοῦς ἔργοις τε προστιθεὶς ἐχώννυε τὸν μεταξὺ πόρον, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἄμα τῷ τοῦ χώματος αὐξήσει προσήγαγε τοῦς τείχεσον.

50. Περὶ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰμίλκων ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος ἀκούσας ὅτι Διονύσιος ένεωλκησε τὰς ναθς, εὐθὺς ἐπλήρου τὰς ἀρίστας των τριήρων έκατόν υπελάμβανε γάρ απροσδοκήτως ἐπιφανεὶς ραδίως κρατήσειν τῶν νενεωλκη-μένων ἐν τῷ λιμένι σκαφῶν, κυριεύων τῆς θαλάττης: τοῦτο δὲ πράξας ἐνόμιζε τήν τε τῆς Μοτύης πολιορκίαν λύσειν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μετάξειν ἐπὶ 2 την τῶν Συρακοσίων πόλιν. ἐκπλεύσας οὖν μετὰ νεῶν έκατὸν κατήχθη ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Σελινουντίων χώραν νυκτός, καὶ περιπλεύσας τὴν περί² Λιλύβαίον ἄκραν ἄμ' ἡμέρα παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν Μοτύην. άνελπίστως δ' ἐπιφανείς τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν παρορμούντων πλοίων τὰ μὲν συνέτριψε, τὰ δ' ἔκαυσεν, 3 οὐ δυναμένων βοηθεῖν τῶν περὶ Διονύσιον. μετά δὲ ταῦτ' εἰσπλεύσας εἰς τὸν λιμένα διέταξε τὰς ναῦς ώς ἐπιθησόμενος ταῖς νενεωλκημέναις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. Διονύσιος δε συναγαγών την δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ θεωρῶν τοὺς πο-λεμίους τὸν ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος ἔκπλουν παραφυλάττοντας, εὐλαβεῖτο καθέλκειν εἰς τὸν λιμένα τὰ σκάφη· οὐ γὰρ ἡγνόει διότι στενοῦ τοῦ στόματος ὄντος

 <sup>1</sup> τὴν τ. Σ. πόλιν Wesseling : τὸν τ. Σ. πόλεμον.
 2 τὴν περὶ Hertlein : περὶ τήν.

the enemy to take refuge behind walls, led all his 397 B.C. army against Motyê; for he hoped that when this city had been reduced by siege, all the others would forthwith surrender themselves to him. Accordingly, he at once put many times more men on the task of filling up the strait between the city and the coast, and, as the mole was extended, advanced his engines of war little by little toward the walls.

50. Meanwhile Himilcon, the admiral of the Carthaginians, hearing that Dionysius had hauled his warships up on land, manned at once his hundred best triremes; for he assumed that if he appeared unexpectedly, he should easily seize the vessels which were hauled up on land in the harbour, since he would be master of the sea. Once he succeeded in this, he believed, he would not only relieve the siege of Motyê but also transfer the war to the city of the Syracusans. Sailing forth, therefore, with one hundred ships, he arrived during the night at the territory of Selinus, skirted the promontory of Lilybaeum, and arrived at daybreak at Motyê. Since his appearance took the enemy by surprise, he disabled some of the vessels anchored along the shore by ramming and others by burning, for Dionysius was unable to come to their defence. After this he sailed into the harbour and drew up his ships as if to attack the vessels which the enemy had drawn up on land. Dionysius now massed his army at the entrance of the harbour; but when he saw that the enemy was lying in wait to attack as the ships left the harbour, he refused to risk launching his ships within the harbour, since he realized that the narrow entrance compelled a few ships to

ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ πρὸς πολλαπλασίους 4 διακινδυνεύειν. διόπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ραδίως διελκύσας τὰ σκάφη διὰ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ λιμένος θάλατταν διέσωσε τὰς ναῦς. Ἰμίλκων δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τριήρεσιν ἐπιθέμενος τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελῶν ἀνείργετο· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεβεβήκει πλῆθος τοξοτῶν καὶ σφενδονητῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς γῆς τοῖς ὀξυβελέσι καταπέλταις οἱ Συρακόσιοι χρώμενοι συχνοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνήρουν· καὶ γὰρ κατάπληξιν είχε μεγάλην τοῦτο τὸ βέλος διὰ τὸ πρώτως εὐρεθῆναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν· ὥστε Ἰμίλκων οὐ δυνάμενος κρατῆσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, ναυμαχεῖν οὐ κρίνων συμφέρειν διὰ τὸ διπλασίας εἶναι τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων.

51. Διονύσιος δὲ τῆ πολυχειρία τῶν ἐργαζομένων συντελέσας τὸ χῶμα, προσήγαγε παντοίας 
μηχανὰς τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν κριοῖς ἔτυπτε 
τοὺς πύργους, τοῖς δὲ καταπέλταις ἀνέστελλε τοὺς 
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάλξεων μαχομένους· προσήγαγε δὲ καὶ 
τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν τροχῶν¹ πύργους τοῖς τείχεσιν, έξωρόφους ὅντας, οὓς κατεσκεύασε πρὸς τὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν 
² ὕψος. οἱ δὲ τὴν Μοτύην κατοικοῦντες ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ 
κινδύνου καθεστῶτος ὅμως οὐ κατεπλάγησαν τὴν 
τοῦ Διονυσίου δύναμιν, καίπερ ὄντες ἔρημοι συμμάχων κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρόν. ὑπερτιθέμενοι δὲ 
τῆ φιλοδοξία τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

<sup>2</sup> It is an interesting coincidence of history that the other 152

¹ ὑπὸ τῶν τροχῶν] ὑποτρόχους Wesseling, Vogel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> i.e. in the narrow entrance Dionysius could not use the great advantage he had in numbers.

match themselves against an enemy many times more 397 B.C. numerous.¹ Consequently, using the multitude of his soldiers, he hauled his vessels over the land with no difficulty and launched them safely in the sea outside the harbour. Himilcon attacked the first ships, but was held back by the multitude of missiles; for Dionysius had manned the ships with a great number of archers and slingers, and the Syracusans slew many of the enemy by using from the land the catapults which shotsharp-pointedmissiles. Indeed this weapon created great dismay, because it was a new invention at this time. As a result, Himilcon was unable to achieve his design and sailed away to Libya, believing that a sea-battle would serve no end, since the enemy's ships were double his in number.

51. After Dionysius had completed the mole <sup>2</sup> by employing a large force of labourers, he advanced war engines of every kind against the walls and kept hammering the towers with his battering-rams, while with the catapults he kept down the fighters on the battlements; and he also advanced against the walls his wheeled towers, six stories high, which he had built to equal the height of the houses. The inhabitants of Motyê, now that the threat was at hand-grips, were nevertheless not dismayed by the armament of Dionysius, even though they had for the moment no allies to help them. Surpassing the besiegers in thirst for glory, they in the first place raised

use of a mole of such magnitude in ancient history against an island city was by Alexander the Great in 332 B.c. against Tyre, the mother-city of the Carthaginians. Alexander's mole was about half a mile long and reputed to be two hundred feet wide. For the story of the famous seven-month siege of Tyre see Book 17. 40-46, Arrian, Anab. 2. 18-24, Curtius, 4. 2-4.

έκ των μεγίστων ίστων κεραίαις ίσταμέναις έβάσταζον ἄνδρας ἐν θωρακίοις, οῦτοι δ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν τόπων δαδας ήμμένας ήφίεσαν και στυππεῖα καιόμενα μετά πίττης είς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μηχανάς. 3 ταχύ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς ἐπινεμομένης τὴν ὕλην, ὀξέως οί Σικελιώται παραβοηθήσαντες ταύτην μεν απέσβεσαν, τοῖς δὲ κριοῖς πυκνὰς τὰς ἐμβολὰς διδόντες κατέβαλον μέρος τοῦ τείχους. συνδραμόντων δ' έπὶ τὸν τόπον ἀθρόων¹ ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἰσχυρὰν 4 συνέβαινε την μάχην γίνεσθαι. οί μέν γαρ Σικελιώται κεκρατηκέναι της πόλεως ήδη νομίζοντες, παν υπέμενον ένεκεν του τους Φοίνικας αμύνεσθαι, περί ὧν πρότερον είς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτήκεισαν οί δ' έκ της πόλεως προ οφθαλμών λαμβάνοντες τὰ της αίχμαλωσίας δεινά, καὶ φυγήν οὐδεμίαν δρώντες ύπάρχουσαν οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν, 5 οὐκ άγεννως ὑπέμενον τὸν θάνατον. θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπικουρίαν περιηρημένην, ένέφραττον τους στενωπούς, και ταις έσχάταις οἰκίαις ἐχρῶντο καθάπερ τειχίω πολυτελῶς ψκο-δομημένω. ὅθεν εἰς μείζονα δυσχέρειαν οἱ περὶ 6 τον Διονύσιον παρεγενήθησαν. παρεισπεσόντες γαρ έντὸς τοῦ τείχους, καὶ δοκοῦντες ήδη κυριεύειν τῆς πόλεως, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ὄντων ἐξ ὑπερδε-7 ξίων τόπων κατετιτρώσκοντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοὺs ξυλίνους πύργους προσαγαγόντες ταῖς πρώταις οἰκίαις ἐπιβάθρας κατεσκεύασαν. ἴσων δ' ὄντων των μηχανημάτων τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασι, τὸ λοιπὸν έκ χειρός συνέβαινεν είναι την μάχην. οι μεν γάρ Σικελιώται τὰς ἐπιβάθρας ἐπιρριπτοῦντες, διὰ τούτων έπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβιάζοντο.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske: ἀθρόως.

up men in crow's-nests resting on yard-arms sus- 897 B.C. pended from the highest possible masts, and these from their lofty positions hurled lighted fire-brands and burning tow with pitch on the enemies' siege engines. The flame quickly caught the wood, but the Sicilian Greeks, dashing to the rescue, swiftly quenched it; and meantime the frequent blows of the battering-rams broke down a section of the wall. Since now both sides rushed with one accord to the place, the battle that ensued grew furious. For the Sicilian Greeks, believing that the city was already in their hands, spared no effort in retaliating upon the Phoenicians for former injuries they had suffered at their hands, while the people of the city, envisioning the terrible fate of a life of captivity and seeing no possibility of flight either by land or by sea, faced death stoutly. And finding themselves shorn of the defence of the walls, they barricaded the narrow lanes and made the last houses provide a lavishly constructed wall. From this came even greater difficulties for the troops of Dionysius. For after they had burst through the wall and seemed to be already masters of the city, they were raked by missiles from men posted in superior positions. Nevertheless, they advanced the wooden towers to the first houses and provided them with gangways 1; and since the siege machines were equal in height to the dwellings, the rest of the struggle was fought hand to hand. For the Sicilian Greeks would launch the gangways and force a passage by them on to the houses.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These were small bridges which could be dropped or thrust from the towers across to opposing walls and in this case to the houses.

52. Οἱ δὲ Μοτυηνοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου λογιζόμενοι, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐν όφθαλμοῖς ὄντων, τῷ περὶ τούτων φόβῳ προθυμότερον ήγωνίζοντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ γονέων παρεστώτων καὶ δεομένων μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆ τούτων ύβρει παραδιδομένους έπηγείροντο ταις ψυχαις, οὐδεμίαν φειδώ τοῦ ζην ποιούμενοι, οί δε γυναικών και νηπίων τέκνων θρήνον ακούοντες ἔσπευδον εὐγενῶς ἀποθανεῖν, πρὶν ἐπιδεῖν τὴν τῶν 2 τέκνων αἰχμαλωσίαν οὐδὲ γὰρ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ην, ως αν περιεχούσης μεν θαλάττης, των δὲ πολεμίων θαλαττοκρατούντων. ἐξέπληττέ τε¹ καὶ μάλιστα ἀπογινώσκειν ἐποίει τοὺς Φοίνικας τὸ ώμῶς κεχρησθαί² τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡλωκόσιν, οίς ταὐτό προσεδόκων πείσεσθαι. ἀπελείπετ' οὖν αὐτοῖς εὐγενῶς μαχομένοις ἢ νικᾶν ἢ τελευτᾶν. 3 τοιαύτης δε παραστάσεως έμπεσούσης είς τὰς τῶν πολιορκουμένων ψυχάς, συνέβαινε τους Σικελιώτας 4 είς πολλήν ἀπορίαν έμπίπτειν. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐπερεισθεισών σανίδων μαχόμενοι κακώς ἀπήλλαττον διά τε την στενοχωρίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐναντίους άπονενοημένως κινδυνεύειν, ώς αν άπογινώσκοντας τὸ ζῆν. ώσθ' οἱ μὲν εἰς χεῖρας συμπλεκόμενοι καὶ τραύματα διδόντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέθνησκον, οί δ' ύπο των Μοτυαίων έξωθούμενοι και από των σανίδων ἀποπίπτοντες είς τὴν γῆν ἀπώλλυντο. 5 τέλος δ' έφ' ήμέρας τοιαύτης τινὸς τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης, Διονύσιος αίεὶ πρὸς τὴν έσπέραν τῆ σάλπιγγι τους μαχομένους άνακαλούμενος έλυε την

<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς after τε deleted by Reiske.

52. The Motyans, as they took account of the 397 B.C. magnitude of the peril, and with their wives and children before their eyes, fought the more fiercely out of fear for their fate. There were some whose parents stood by entreating them not to let them be surrendered to the lawless will of victors, who were thus wrought to a pitch where they set no value on life; others, as they heard the laments of their wives and helpless children, sought to die like men rather than to see their children led into captivity. Flight of course from the city was impossible, since it was entirely surrounded by the sea, which was controlled by the enemy. Most appalling for the Phoenicians and the greatest cause of their despair was the thought how cruelly they had used their Greek captives and the prospect of their suffering the same treatment. Indeed there was nothing left for them but, fighting bravely, either to conquer or die. When such an obstinate mood filled the souls of the besieged, the Sicilian Greeks found themselves in a very difficult position. For, fighting as they were from the suspended wooden bridges, they suffered grievously both because of the narrow quarters and because of the desperate resistance of their opponents, who had abandoned hope of life. As a result, some perished in hand-to-hand encounter as they gave and received wounds, and others, pressed back by the Motyans and tumbling from the wooden bridges, fell to their death on the ground. In the end, while the kind of siege we have described had lasted some days, Dionysius made it his practice always toward evening to sound the trumpet for the recall of the fighters and break off

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wurm: κεχρημένους.
<sup>3</sup> So Wurm: οΐ.
<sup>4</sup> τῶν added by Eichstädt,

πολιορκίαν. είς τοιαύτην δε συνήθειαν τούς Μοτυαίους άγαγών, ἐπειδή παρ' έκατέρων οί κινδυνεύοντες ἀπῆλθον, ἀπέστειλεν ᾿Αρχύλον τὸν Θούριον 6 μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων· οὖτος δ᾽ ἤδη νυκτὸς οὔσης προσήρεισε ταῖς πεπτωκυίαις οἰκίαις κλίμακας, δί' ὧν ἀναβὰς καὶ καταλαβόμενός τινα τόπον εὔ-7 καιρον παρεδέχετο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διονύσιον. οἱ δὲ Μοτυαῖοι τὸ γεγενημένον αἰσθόμενοι παραυτίκα μετὰ πάσης σπουδης παρεβοήθουν, καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστεροῦντες οὐδὲν ήττον ὑπέστησαν τὸν κίνδυνον. γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολλῶν προσαναβάντων, μόγις οι Σικελιῶται τῷ πλήθει κατ-

επόνησαν τους άνθεστηκότας.

53. Εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ δίὰ τοῦ χώματος ή δύναμις ἄπασα τοῦ Διονυσίου παρεισέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πᾶς τόπος ἔγεμε τῶν ἀναιρουμένων οί γὰρ Σικελιώται ωμότητα ωμότητι σπεύδοντες άμύνεσθαι, πάντας έξης ανήρουν, άπλως ου παιδός, ου 2 γυναικός, οὐ πρεσβύτου φειδόμενοι. Διονύσιος δὲ βουλόμενος ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως άθροισθή χρήματα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεῖργε τοὺς στρατιώτας του φονεύειν τους αίχμαλώτους ώς δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ προσεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ξωρα τὴν τῶν Σικελιωτῶν δρμὴν ἀκατάσχετον οὖσαν, παρεστήσατο κήρυκας τοὺς μετὰ βοῆς δηλώσοντας τοῦς Μοτυαίοις φυγεῖν εἰς τὰ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἱερὰ 3 τιμώμενα. οῦ γενηθέντος οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται τοῦ φονεύειν έληγον, επί δε την των κτήσεων διαρπαγήν ώρμησαν· καὶ διεφορεῖτο πολὺς μὲν ἄργυρος, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ χρυσός, καὶ ἐσθῆτες πολυτελεῖς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας πλῆθος. τὴν δὲ τῆς πόλεως διαρπαγήν έδωκεν δ Διονύσιος τοῖς στρατιώταις, 158

the siege. When he had accustomed the Motvans 397 B.C. to such a practice, the combatants on both sides retiring, he dispatched Archylus of Thurii with the élite troops, who, when night had fallen, placed ladders against the fallen houses, and mounting by them, seized an advantageous spot where he admitted Dionvsius' troops. The Motyans, when they perceived what had taken place, at once rushed to the rescue with all eagerness, and although they were too late, none the less faced the struggle. The battle grew fierce and abundant reinforcements climbed the ladders, until at last the Sicilian Greeks wore down

their opponents by weight of numbers.

53. Straightway Dionysius' entire army burst into the city, coming also by the mole, and now every spot was a scene of mass slaughter; for the Sicilian Greeks, eager to return cruelty for cruelty, slew everyone they encountered, sparing without distinction not a child, not a woman, not an elder. Dionysius, wishing to sell the inhabitants into slavery for the money he could gather, at first attempted to restrain the soldiers from murdering the captives, but when no one paid any attention to him and he saw that the fury of the Sicilian Greeks was not to be controlled, he stationed heralds to cry aloud and tell the Motvans to take refuge in the temples which were revered by the Greeks. When this was done, the soldiers ceased their slaughter and turned to looting the property; and the plunder yielded much silver and not a little gold, as well as costly raiment and an abundance of every other product of felicity. The city was given over by Dionysius to the soldiers

<sup>1</sup> ωμότητα ωμότητι Madvig, ωμότητι PK, ωμότητα cet.

βουλόμενος προθύμους αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς 4 επιφερομένους κινδύνους. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων νενόμενος 'Αργύλον τὸν ἀναβάντα πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος έκατὸν μναῖς ἐστεφάνωσεν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων κατὰ τὴν άξίαν έκαστον των ηνδραγαθηκότων ετίμησεν, καὶ τῶν Μοτυαίων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας ἐλαφυροπώλησεν. Δαϊμένην δε καί τινας τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμμαχοῦντας Καρχηδονίοις λαβών αἰχμαλώτους 5 ἀνεσταύρωσεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φύλακας τῆς πόλεως καταστήσας, Βίτωνα τὸν Συρακόσιον φρούραρχον ἀπέδειξε· τὸ δὲ πλεῖον μέρος ἐκ τῶν Σικελῶν ύπηρχεν. καὶ Λεπτίνην μέν τον ναύαρχον μετὰ νεων είκοσι καὶ έκατὸν ἐκέλευσεν παρατηρεῖν τὴν διάβασιν τῶν Καρχηδονίων, συνέταξε δί αὐτῷ² τὴν Αἴγεσταν καὶ τὴν Ἔντελλαν πολιορκεῖν, καθάπερ έξ άρχης πορθείν αὐτὰς ενεστήσατο αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ θέρους ήδη λήγοντος ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως είς Συρακούσας.

6 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ᾿Αθήναις Σοφοκλῆς δ Σοφοκλέους⁴ τραγωδίαν διδάσκειν ἤρξατο καὶ νίκας ἔσχε

δεκαδύο.

54. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσιαίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Φορμίων, ἐν Ῥώμη δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένοντο χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Γναῖος Γενούκιος, Λεύκιος 'Ατίλιος, Μάρκος Πομπώνιος, Γάιος Δυίλιος, Μάρκος Οὐετούριος, Οὐαλέριος Ποπλίλιος, 'Ολυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ἐνενηκοστὴ καὶ ἕκτη, 2 καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα Εὔπολις 'Ηλεῖος. τούτων δὲ τὴν

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσεν added by Vogel.
 <sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ] Vogel suggests δ' ᾿Αρχύλῳ.
 <sup>3</sup> αὐτὰς] αὐτὴν PΛ.

δ Σοφοκλέους omitted P.
 καθ' added by Hertlein.

to plunder, since he wished to whet their appetites 397 B.C. for future encounters. After this success he rewarded Archylus, who had been the first to mount the wall, with one hundred minas,1 and honoured according to their merits all others who had performed deeds of valour; he also sold as booty the Motyans who survived, but he crucified Daïmenes and other Greeks who had fought on the side of the Carthaginians and had been taken captive. After this Dionysius stationed guards in the city whom he put under the command of Biton of Syracuse; and the garrison was composed largely of Siceli. He ordered Leptines his admiral with one hundred and twenty ships to lie in wait for any attempt by the Carthaginians to cross to Sicily; and he also assigned to him the siege of Aegesta and Entella, in accordance with his original plan to sack them. Then, since the summer was already coming to a close, he marched back to Syracuse with his army.

In Athens Sophocles, the son <sup>2</sup> of Sophocles, began to produce tragedies and won the first prize twelve times.

54. When the year had come to an end, in Athens 396 R.O. Phormion assumed the archonship and in Rome six military tribunes took the place of the consuls, Gnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius, Marcus Pomponius, Gaius Duilius, Marcus Veturius, and Valerius Publilius; and the Ninety-sixth Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Eupolis of Elis was the victor.<sup>3</sup> In the year

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some \$1800. <sup>2</sup> He was the grandson of the great tragedian. <sup>3</sup> In the "stadion."

άρχην παραλαβόντων Διονύσιος δ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος μετά πάσης της δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐκ Συρακουσῶν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπικράτειαν. πορθοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν, Αλικυαίοι μεν καταπλαγέντες διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρός αὐτὸν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο, Αἰγεσταῖοι δέ τοις πολιορκούσι νυκτός ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιθέμενοι, καὶ πῦρ ἐνέντες ταῖς κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολὴν σκηναίς, εἰς πολλήν ταραχήν ήγαγον τοὺς ἐν τῆ 3 στρατοπεδεία επινεμηθείσης δε της φλογός επί πολύν τόπον, και τοῦ πυρὸς ἀκατασχέτου γενηθέντος, τῶν μὲν παραβοηθούντων στρατιωτῶν ολίγοι διεφθάρησαν, των δ' ιππων οί πλείστοι 4 ταις σκηναις συγκατεκαύθησαν. και Διονύσιος μέν έδήου την χώραν οὐδενὸς ὑφισταμένου, Λεπτίνης δ' ό ναύαρχος περί Μοτύην διατρίβων ἐπετήρει τον τῶν πολεμίων κατάπλουν.

Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τοῦ Διονυσίου δυνάμεως, ἔκριναν πολὺ ταῖς παραστκευαῖς αὐτὸν ὑπερθέσθαι. διόπερ Ἰμίλκωνα βασιλέα κατὰ νόμον καταστήσαντες, ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ὅλης, ἔτι δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας συνήγαγον δυνάμεις, τὰς μὲν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μεταπεμπόμενοι, τὰς δὲ μισθούμενοι· καὶ πέρας ἤθροισαν πεζῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰς τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους χωρὶς τῶν ἀρμάτων· ταῦτα δ' ἦσαν τετρακόσια· ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς μὲν τετρακοσίας, τὰς δὲ τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν παρακομιζούσας πλείους τῶν ἐξακοσίων, 6 καθάπερ φησὶν Ἔφορος. Τίμαιος μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐκ

when these magistrates entered office Dionysius, the 396 B.C. tyrant of the Syracusans, set out from Syracuse with his entire army and invaded the domain of the Carthaginians. While he was laying waste the countryside, the Halicyaeans in dismay sent an embassy to him and concluded an alliance. But the Aegestaeans, falling unexpectedly by night on their besiegers and setting fire to the tents where they were camped, threw the men in the encampment into great confusion; for since the flames spread over a large area and the fire could not be brought under control, a few of the soldiers who came to the rescue lost their lives and most of the horses were burned, together with the tents. Now Dionysius ravaged the Carthaginian territory without meeting any opposition, and Leptines his admiral from his quarters in Motyê kept watch against any approach of the enemy by sea.

The Carthaginians, when they learned of the magnitude of the armament of Dionysius, resolved far to surpass him in their preparations. Consequently, lawfully according Himilcon sovereign power, they gathered armaments from all Libya as well as from Iberia, summoning some from their allies and in other cases hiring mercenaries. In the end they collected more than three hundred thousand infantry, four thousand cavalry in addition to chariots, which numbered four hundred, four hundred ships of war, and over six hundred other vessels to convey food and engines of war and other supplies. These are the numbers stated by Ephorus. Timaeus, on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, Himilcon was chosen one of the two annually elected suffetes, who corresponded in general to the Roman consuls, and put in command of the war.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Reiske : ἱππέων.

της Λιβύης περαιωθείσας δυνάμεις οὐ πλείω φησίν είναι δέκα μυριάδων, καὶ πρὸς ταύταις έτέρας τρεῖς ἀποφαίνεται κατὰ Σικελίαν στρατολογηθείσας.

55. Ἰμίλκων δὲ τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἄπασι δοὺς βυβλίον ἐπεσφραγισμένον, ἐκέλευσεν ἀνοίγειν ὅταν ἐκπλεύσωσι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ γεγραμμένα. τοῦτο δ' ἐμηχανήσατο πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν κατασκόπων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τὸν κατάπλουν τῷ Διονυσίῳ. ἢν δὲ γεγραμμένον, ὅπως ἐς Πάνορμον καταπλεύσωσιν.

- 2 διόπερ ἐπιγενομένου πνεύματος οὐρίου καὶ πάντων λυσάντων τὰ πρυμνήσια, τὰ μὲν φορτηγὰ τῶν πλοίων ἔπλει διὰ τοῦ πελάγους, αἱ δὲ τριήρεις ἔπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Λιβυκήν,² παρελέγοντό τε τὴν γῆν. φοροῦ δὲ πνεύματος ὄντος, ὡς ἤδη καταφανεῖς ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας αἱ πρῶται πλέουσαι τῶν φορτηγῶν νεῶν, Διονύσιος ἀπέστειλε Λεπτίνην μετὰ τριάκοντα τριήρων, παρακελευσάμενος τύπτειν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις καὶ διαφθείρειν ἀπάσας τὰς καταλαμβανομένας. δς μετὰ σπουδῆς ἐκπλεύσας
- καταλαμρανομένας. ος μετα σπουσης εκπλευσας
   καὶ ταῖς πρώταις προσμίξας εὐθέως τινὰς αὐτάνδρους κατέδυσεν· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ πλήρεις οὖσαι καὶ τὸν ἄνεμον τοῖς ἱστίοις δεχόμεναι ράδίως ἐξέφυγον· ὅμως κατέδυσε πεντήκοντα ναῦς στρατιώτας ἐχούσας πεντακισχιλίους, ἄρματα δὲ διακόσια.

 the other hand, says that the troops transported \$96 B.C. from Libya did not exceed one hundred thousand and declares that an additional thirty thousand were enlisted in Sicily.

55. Himilcon gave sealed orders to all the pilots with commands to open them after they had sailed and to carry out the instructions. He devised this scheme in order that no spy should be able to report to Dionysius where they would put in; and the orders read for them to put in at Panormus. When a favourable wind arose, all the vessels cast off their cables and the transports put out to open sea, but the triremes sailed into the Libyan Sea and skirted the land. The wind continued favourable, and as soon as the leading vessels of the transports were visible from Sicily, Dionysius dispatched Leptines with thirty triremes under orders to ram and destroy all he could Leptines sailed forth promptly and straightway sank, together with their men, the first ships he encountered, but the rest, having all canvas spread and catching the wind with their sails, easily made their escape. Nevertheless, fifty ships were sunk, together with five thousand soldiers and two hundred chariots.

After Himilcon had put in at Panormus and disembarked his army, he advanced toward the enemy, ordering the triremes to sail along beside him; and having himself taken Eryx by treachery as he passed,

<sup>1</sup> The course of the triremes was to divert attention from the route of the transports. When sighted, as they would be, going east, Dionysius might well fear that they intended an attack on Syracuse. How the triremes got to Panormus without an encounter with Leptines is not told us.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Λιβυκὴν Post, Μοτύην Eichstädt, Λιλύβαιον ἄκραν Holm : Λιβύην,

Μοτύην κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. ὄντος δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τον χρόνον τοῦ Διονυσίου περὶ τὴν Αἴγεσταν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, Ἰμίλκων τὴν Μοτύην ἐξεπο- 5 λιόρκησεν. τῶν δὲ Σικελιωτῶν προθύμων ὄντων διαμάχεσθαι, Διονύσιος άμα μέν μακράν τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἀπεωσμένος, ἄμα δὲ τῆς σιτοπομπίας ἐπιλειπούσης, διέλαβε συμφέρειν ἐφ' ἐτέρων 6 τόπων συστήσασθαι τον πόλεμον. κρίνας οὖν ἀναζευγνύειν, τους μεν Σικανους έπειθε καταλιπείν τας πόλεις κατά το παρον και μετ' αυτοῦ στρατεύεσθαι άντὶ δὲ τούτων ἐπηγγέλλετο δώσειν χώραν βελτίονα καὶ τῷ πλήθει παραπλησίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν κατάξειν τοὺς βουλομένους 7 εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. τῶν δὲ Σικανῶν ὀλίγοι, καταπλαγέντες μήποτε άντιλέγοντες διαρπασθώσιν ύπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, συγκατέθεντο τοῖs ἀξιουμένοις ύπὸ Διονυσίου. ἀπέστησαν δὲ παραπλησίως καὶ 'Αλικυαῖοι καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς τὸ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατόπεδον συμμαχίαν εποιήσαντο. καὶ Διονύσιος μὲν ἀφώρμησεν ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν, καταφθείρων τὴν χώραν δι' ἦς ἦγε τὴν δύναμιν.

56. Ἰμίλκων δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωρούντων κατά γνώμην παρεσκευάζετο την στρατιάν άνάγειν1 έπὶ Μεσσήνης, σπεύδων αὐτῆς κυριεῦσαι διὰ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τῶν τόπων ὅ τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῆ λιμὴν εὔθετος ἦν, δυνάμενος δέχεσθαι πάσας τὰς ναῦς, ούσας πλείω τῶν έξακοσίων, τά τε περὶ τὸν πορθμον οἰκεῖα ποιησάμενος² Ἰμίλκων ἤλπιζε τὰς τῶν Ίταλιωτῶν βοηθείας ἐμφράξειν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πε-2 λοποννήσου στόλους ἐπισχεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς πράττειν, πρός τους μέν Ίμεραίους και τους το

he took up quarters before Motyê. Since Dionysius 396 B.C. and his army were during this time at Aegestê, Himilcon reduced Motyê by siege. Although the Sicilian Greeks were eager for a battle, Dionysius conceived it to be better, both because he was widely separated from his allied cities and because the transport of his food supplies was reduced, to renew the war in other areas. Having decided, therefore, to break camp, he proposed to the Sicani to abandon their cities for the present and to join him in the campaign; and in return he promised to give them richer territory of about equal size and, at the conclusion of the war, to return to their native cities any who so wished. Of the Sicani only a few, fearing that, if they refused, they would be plundered by the soldiers, agreed to Dionysius' offer. The Halicyaeans similarly deserted him and sent ambassadors to the Carthaginian camp and concluded an alliance with them. And Dionysius set out for Syracuse, laying waste the territory through which he led his army.

56. Himilcon, now that his affairs were proceeding as he wished, made preparations to lead his army against Messenê, being anxious to get control of the city because of its favourable facilities; for it had an excellent harbour, capable of accommodating all his ships, which numbered more than six hundred, and Himilcon also hoped that by getting possession of the straits he would be able to bar any aid from the Italian Greeks and hold in check the fleets that might come from the Peloponnesus. With this programme in mind, he formed relations of friendship with the

<sup>1</sup> So Eichstädt: ἀνάγων.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> οἰκεῖα ποιησάμενος] Vogel suggests from 15. 13. 1 ἰδιοποιησάμενος.

Κεφαλοίδιον φρούριον κατοικοῦντας φιλίαν ἐποιήσατο, Λιπάρας δε της πόλεως εγκρατης γενόμενος τριάκοντα τάλαντα παρά τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν νησον ἐπράξατο αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πάσης της δυνάμεως ώρμησεν επὶ Μεσσήνης, συμπαραπλεουσῶν 3 αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν. καὶ ταχὺ διανύσας τὴν όδον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τῆς Πελωρίδος, ἀπέχων τῆς Μεσσήνης σταδίους έκατόν. οι δε την πόλιν ταύτην κατοικούντες ώς επύθοντο την παρουσίαν των πολεμίων, οὐ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀλλήλοις ἐννοίας είχον 4 περί τοῦ πολέμου. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως ἀκούοντες, καὶ τὴν έρημίαν των συμμάχων όρωντες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τών ίδίων ίππέων εν Συρακούσαις όντων, απεγνώκεισαν την έκ της πολιορκίας σωτηρίαν. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ήγε τὰ τείχη καταπεπτωκότα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς εἰς παρασκευὴν οὐ διδοὺς ἄνεσιν. διόπερ έξεκόμιζον έκ της πόλεως τέκνα καὶ νυναίκας καὶ τὰ πολυτελέστατα τῶν χρημάτων εἰς 5 τὰς ἀστυγείτονας πόλεις. τινές δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ακούοντές τι παλαιὸν αὐτοῖς εἶναι λόγιον, ὅτι δεῖ Καρχηδονίους ύδροφορήσαι κατά την πόλιν, έξεδέχοντο τό κατά την φήμην πρός το συμφέρον έαυτοις, νομίζοντες δουλεύσειν έν Μεσσήνη τούς διὸ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς εὐθαρσεῖς 6 Καρχηδονίους. οντες πολλούς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προθύμους ἐποιοῦντο είς τους υπέρ της έλευθερίας κινδύνους. εὐθέως δε των νεωτέρων επιλέξαντες τούς αρίστους απέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελωρίδα κωλύσοντας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβαίνειν τῆς χώρας.

57. Περὶ ταῦτα δ' ὄντων αὐτῶν, Ἰμίλκων θεω-

1 τò added by Reiske.

Himeraeans and the dwellers in the fort of Cepha-396 B.C. loedium,1 and seizing the city of Lipara, he exacted thirty talents from the inhabitants of the island.2 Then he set out in person with his entire army toward Messenê, his ships sailing along the coast beside him. Completing the distance in a brief time, he pitched his camp at Peloris, at a distance of one hundred stades from Messenê. When the inhabitants of this city learned that the enemy was at hand, they could not agree among themselves about the war. One party, when they heard reports of the great size of the enemy's army and observed that they themselves were without any allies-what is more, that their own cavalry were at Syracuse-were fully convinced that nothing could save them from capture. What contributed most to their despair was the fact that their walls had fallen down and that the situation allowed no time for their repair. Consequently they removed from the city their children and wives and most valuable possessions to neighbouring cities. Another party of the Messenians, however, hearing of a certain ancient oracle of theirs which ran, "Carthaginians must be bearers of water in Messenê," interpreted the utterance to their advantage, believing that the Carthaginians would serve as slaves in Messenê. Consequently not only were they in a hopeful mood, but they made many others eager to face battle for their freedom. At once, then, they selected the ablest troops from among their young men and dispatched them to Peloris to prevent the enemy from entering their territory.

57. While the Messenians were busied in this way,

Some fifteen miles east of Himera.
 On Lipara see Book 5, 10.

ρων εκβοηθούντας τους Μεσσηνίους περί την απόβασιν, ἀπέστειλε των νεων διακοσίας ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ήλπιζε γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν εἰκός, τῶν στρατιωτῶν την απόβασιν κωλυόντων τους έν ταις ναυσί κυριεύσειν ραδίως της Μεσσήνης ούσης ερήμου των 2 ἀμυνομένων. πνεύσαντος δὲ βορέου τὰς μὲν ναῦς συνέβη ταχέως πλήρεσι τοῖς ἱστίοις εἰς τὸν λιμένα κατενεγθήναι, τους δ' έπὶ τη Πελωρίδι παραφυλάττοντας Μεσσηνίους ύστερησαι της των νεών παρουσίας, καίπερ κατά σπουδήν ἐπειγομένους. 3 διόπερ οι Καρχηδόνιοι περιστρατοπεδεύσαντες την Μεσσήνην καί δια των πεπτωκότων τειχων είσ-4 βιασάμενοι τῆς πόλεως ἐκυρίευσαν. τῶν δὲ Μεσσηνίων οι μεν μαχόμενοι γενναίως ανηρέθησαν, οί δ' είς τὰς εγγυτάτω κειμένας πόλεις εφυγον, ὁ δὲ πολύς όχλος διὰ τῶν παρακειμένων ὀρῶν ὁρμήσας 5 εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια διεσπάρη τῶν δὲ άλλων τινές μεν ύπο των πολεμίων συνελαμβάνοντο, τινές δε αποληφθέντες είς το προς τον λιμένα μέρος ἔρριψαν έαυτούς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ελπίζοντες διανήξασθαι τὸν μεταξύ πόρον. τούτων δὲ ὄντων πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων, οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ροῦ διεφθάρησαν, πεντήκοντα δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν 6 διεσώθησαν. Ίμίλκων δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἄπασαν μεταγαγών είς την πόλιν, το μέν πρώτον έπεχείρησε πορθεῖν τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια, τούτων δ' ὀχυρῶν ὄντων, καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὰ συμπεφευγότων γενναίως άγωνιζομένων, άνέστρεψεν είς την πόλιν, άδυνατήσας αὐτῶν κυριεθσαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τήν τε δύναμιν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας ποιεῖσθαι.

Himilcon, seeing that they had sallied against his 296 B.C. place of landing, dispatched two hundred ships against the city, for he hoped, as well he might, that while the soldiers were trying to prevent his landing, the crews of the ships would easily seize Messenê. stripped of defenders as it was. A north wind sprang up and the ships with all canvas spread entered the harbour, while the Messenians who were on guard at Peloris, in spite of their hurried return, failed to arrive before the ships. Consequently the Carthaginians invested Messenê, forced their way through the fallen walls, and made themselves masters of the city. Of the Messenians, some were slain as they put up a gallant fight, others fled to the nearest cities, but the great mass of the common people took to flight through the surrounding mountains and scattered among the fortresses of the territory; of the rest, some were captured by the enemy and some. who had been cut off in the area near the harbour, hurled themselves into the sea in hopes of swimming across the intervening strait. These numbered more than two hundred and most of them were overcome by the current, only fifty making their way in safety to Italy. Himilcon now brought his entire army into the city and at first set to work to reduce the forts over the countryside; but since they were strongly situated and the men who had fled to them put up gallant struggles, he retired to the city, having found himself unable to master them. After this he refreshed his army and made preparations to advance against Syracuse.

58. Οί δὲ Σικελοί, πάλαι μὲν μισοῦντες τὸν Διονύσιον, τότε δὲ καιρὸν τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἔχοντες, μετεβάλουτο πρός Καρχηδονίους πλην 'Ασσωρίνων ἄπαντες. Διονύσιος δ' έν ταῖς Συρακούσαις τοὺς δούλους ελευθερώσας, επλήρωσεν έξ αὐτῶν ναῦς έξήκοντα μετεπέμψατο δέ καὶ παρά Λακεδαιμονίων μισθοφόρους πλείω τῶν χιλίων, καὶ τὰ κατά την χώραν φρούρια περιπορευόμενος ώχύρου καὶ σῖτον παρεκόμιζεν ἐπιμελέστατα δὲ τὰς ἐν Λεοντίνοις ακροπόλεις ετείχισε και τον εκ των 2 πεδίων σιτον είς ταύτας συνήθροισεν. ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Κατάνην οἰκοῦντας Καμπανοὺς εἰς την νῦν καλουμένην Αίτνην μεταστήναι διά τὸ λίαν είναι τὸ φρούριον όχυρόν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν Συρακουσών έκατον έξήκοντα σταδίους προαγαγων απασαν την δύναμιν κατεστρατοπέδευσε περί τον Ταθρον καλούμενον. είχε δε κατ' εκείνον τον καιρον πεζούς μέν τρισμυρίους, ίππεις δε πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων, ναθς δὲ ἐκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα· τούτων δ' όλίγαι μέν ήσαν τριήρεις.

Ἰμίλκων δὲ τὰ τείχη τῆς Μεσσήνης κατασκάψας προσέταξε τοῖς στρατιώταις καταβαλεῖν τὰς οἰκίας είς έδαφος, και μήτε κέραμον μήθ' ύλην μήτ' άλλο μηδέν ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν κατακαῦσαι, τὰ δὲ συντρίψαι. ταχύ δέ τῆ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολυχειρία λαβόντων τῶν ἔργων συντέλειαν, ἡ πόλις ἄγνωστος

4 ην ὅτι² πρότερον αὐτὴν οἰκεῖσθαι συνέβαινεν. ὁρῶν γαρ τον τόπον πόρρω μεν από των συμμαχίδων πόλεων κεχωρισμένον, εὐκαιρότατον δὲ τῶν περὶ Σικελίαν όντα, προήρητο δυεῖν θάτερον, ἢ τελέως αοίκητον διατηρεῖν ἢ δυσχερῆ καὶ πολυχρόνιον τὴν κτίσιν αὐτης γίνεσθαι,

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58. The Siceli, who had hated Dionysius from of 896 B.C. old and now had an opportunity to revolt, went over in a body, with the exception of the people of Assorus, to the Carthaginians. In Syracuse Dionysius set free the slaves and manned sixty ships from their numbers; he also summoned over a thousand mercenaries from the Lacedaemonians, and went about the countryside strengthening the fortresses and storing them with provisions. He was most concerned, however, to fortify the citadels of the Leontines and to store in them the harvest from the plains. He also persuaded the Campanians who were dwelling in Catanê to move to Aetnê, as it is now called, since it was an exceptionally strong fortress. After this he led forth his entire army one hundred and sixty stades from Syracuse and encamped near Taurus, as it is called. He had at that time thirty thousand infantry, more than three thousand cavalry, and one hundred and eighty ships of war, of which only a few were triremes.

Himilton threw down the walls of Messenê and issued orders to his soldiers to raze to the ground the dwellings, and to leave not a tile or timber or anything else but either to burn or break them. When the many hands of the soldiers speedily accomplished this task, no one would have known that the site had been occupied. For, reflecting that the place was far separated from the cities which were his allies and yet was the most strategically situated of any in Sicily, he had determined that he would see either that it was kept uninhabited or that it was an arduous and prolonged task to rebuild it.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after δὲ omitted F, Dindorf, Vogel.
2 ὅτι Wesseling: ὅτε Pa F¹, ὅτε που cet.

59. Έναποδειξάμενος οὖν τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ελληνας μῖσος ἐν τῆ τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἀτυχία, Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν ναύαρχον ἀπέστειλε μετὰ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως, προστάξας παραπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον τὸν καλούμενον Ταῦρον. τοῦτον δὲ κατειληφότες ἦσαν Σικελοί, συχνοὶ μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ὅντες, οὐδένα δ' 2 ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα. τούτοις δὲ τὸ μὲν πρότερον Διονύσιος δεδώκει τὴν τῶν Ναξίων χώραν, τότε δ' ὑπ' Ἰμίλκου πεισθέντες ἐπαγγελίαις τὸν λόφον κατελάβοντο. ὀχυροῦ δ' ὄντος τούτου, καὶ τότε καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ῷκουν αὐτὸν τεῖχος περιβαλόμενοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ μεῖναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀθροισθέντας Ταυρομένιον ἀνόμασαν.

3 'Ιμίλκων δε άναλαβών την πεζην στρατιάν ευτονον την πορείαν εποιείτο, και κατήντησε της Ναξίας ἐπὶ τὸν προειρημένον τόπον, αμα καὶ Μάγωνος καταπλεύσαντος. προσφάτως δε πυρός έκρανέντος έκ της Αίτνης μέχρι της θαλάττης, οὐκέτι δυνατὸν ἦν τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν συμπαράγειν παραπλεούσαις ταις ναυσίν εφθαρμένων γάρ των παρά τὴν θάλατταν τόπων ὑπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου ρύακος, ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον περι-4 πορεύεσθαι τὸν τῆς Αἴτνης λόφον. διόπερ Μάγωνι προσέταξε καταπλεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς Κατάνης, αὐτὸς δὲ διά της μεσογείου ταχέως δρμήσας έσπευδε συμμίξαι ταίς ναυσί περί τον των Καταναίων αίγιαλόν εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ μήποτε διεσπαρμένης τῆς δυνάμεως οἱ Σικελιῶται τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μάγωνα 5 διαναυμαχήσωσιν ὅπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη. Διονύ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Reiske, σνετέλεσεν P, συνετέλεσαν A, συνετέλεσε cet. 174

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59. After Himilcon had exhibited his hatred for \$96 B.C. the Greeks by the calamity he visited upon the Messenians, he dispatched Magon his admiral with his naval armament under orders to sail to the peak known as Taurus.¹ This area had been taken by Siceli in large numbers, who, however, had no leader. They had formerly been given by Dionysius the territory of the Naxians,² but at this time, having been induced by Himilcon's offers, they occupied this peak. Since it was a strong position, both at this time and subsequent to the war, they made it their home, throwing a wall about it, and since those who gathered remained (menein) upon Taurus, they named the city Tauromenium.

Himilton, advancing with his land forces, made so rapid a march that he arrived at the place we have mentioned in the territory of Naxos at the same time as Magon put in there by sea. But since there had recently been a fiery eruption from Mt. Aetnê as far as the sea, it was no longer possible for the land forces to advance in the company of the ships as they sailed beside them; for the regions along the sea were laid waste by the lava, as it is called, so that the land army had to take its way around the peak of Aetnê. Consequently he gave orders to Magon to come to port at Catane, while he himself advanced speedily through the heart of the country with the intention of joining the ships on the Catanaean shore; for he was concerned lest, when his forces were divided, the Sicilian Greeks should fight a battle with Magon at sea. And this is what actually took place. For Dionysius, when

<sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 15. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is not the Taurus mentioned just above which lay near Syracuse, but the site of the later Tauromenium.

σιος γάρ τὸν μὲν πλοῦν εἰδώς τῷ Μάγωνι βραχὺν1 οντα, την δε πορείαν τοις πεζοις εργώδη και μακράν, ἔσπευδεν ἐπὶ τῆς Κατάνης, βουλόμενος ναυμαχήσαι πρὸς Μάγωνα πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὸν 6 Ἰμίλκωνα. ήλπιζε γάρ των πεζων εκτεταγμένων παρά τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῖς μέν ιδίοις θάρσος παρέξεσθαι, τους δε πολεμίους δειλοτέρους έσεσθαι τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, εἴ τι συμβαίη γενέσθαι πταῖσμα, ταις θλιβομέναις ναυσίν έξην καταφυγείν πρός τὸ 7 τῶν πεζῶν στρατόπεδον. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς Λεπτίνην μεν απέστειλε μετά πασῶν τῶν νεῶν, παραγγείλας άθρόοις τοῖς σκάφεσι ναυμαχεῖν καὶ μη λύειν την τάξιν όπως μη κινδυνεύσωσιν ύπο τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐναντίων εἶχον γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μάνωνα σὺν ταῖς δλκάσι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς ἐπικώποις, οὖσαις χαλκεμβόλοις, ναῦς οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων.

60. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ὡς εἶδον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τῶν πεζῶν² πλήρη καὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ναῦς ἐπιφερομένας, παραχρημα μεν<sup>3</sup> ου μετρίως ηγωνίασαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐπεχείρησαν καταπλεῖν μετὰ δὲ ταθτα λογισάμενοι διότι κινδυνεύσουσιν ἀπολέσθαι πρὸς τὰς ναθς ἄμα καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς μαχόμενοι, ταχέως μετενόησαν. κρίναντες οὖν ναυμαχεῖν, διέταττον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπίπλουν 2 έκαραδόκουν. Λεπτίνης δὲ τριάκοντα ναυσὶ ταῖς άρίσταις πολύ τῶν ἄλλων προάγων, οὐκ ἀνάνδρως μέν, ἀβούλως δὲ διηγωνίσατο. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐπιθέμενος ταῖς πρώταις τῶν Καρχηδονίων, το μὲν πρώτον οὐκ ολίγας κατέδυσε τών ἀντιτεταγμένων

<sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: βραδύν.

he realized that Magon had a short sail, whereas 896 B.C. the route of the land forces was toilsome and long, hastened to Catanê with the object of attacking Magon by sea before the arrival of Himilcon. hope was that his land forces lined up along the coast would embolden his own troops while the enemy would be the more fearful, and, what was the most important consideration, that if he should suffer a reverse of some kind, the ships in distress would be able to take refuge in the camp of the land forces. With this purpose in mind, he dispatched Leptines with his whole fleet under orders to engage with his ships in close order, and not to break his line lest he be endangered by the great numbers of his opponents; for, including merchantmen and oared vessels with brazen beaks, Magon had no less than five hundred ships.

60. When the Carthaginians saw the shore thronged with infantry and the ships of the Greeks bearing down on them, they were at once not a little alarmed and began to make for the land; but later, when they realized the risk they ran of destruction in giving battle at the same time both to the fleet and to the infantry, they quickly changed their mind. Deciding, therefore, to face the battle at sea, they drew up their ships and awaited the approach of the enemy. Leptines advanced with his thirty best vessels far ahead of the rest and joined battle, in no cowardly fashion, but without prudence. Attacking forthwith the leading ships of the Carthaginians, at the outset he sank no small number of the opposing triremes;

4 ἐπιθέμενος added by Vogel.

³ παραχρημα μὲν transposed by Wesseling from after αλγιαλόν.

τριήρων· τοῦ δὲ Μάγωνος ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς τριάκοντα περιχυθέντος, ταῖς μὲν ἀρεταῖς ὑπερεῖχον οί περὶ τὸν Λεπτίνην, τοῖς δὲ πλήθεσιν οἱ Καρχη-3 δόνιοι. διὸ καὶ τῆς μάχης ἰσχυροτέρας γινομένης, καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἐκ παραβολῆς τὸν ἀγῶνα συνισταμένων, ὅμοιος ὁ κίνδυνος ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς παρατάξεσιν εγίνετο. οὐ γὰρ εκ διαστήματος τοῖς *ἐμβόλοις εἰς τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἐνέσειον, ἀλλὰ* συμπλεκομένων των σκαφών έκ χειρὸς διηγωνίζοντο. τινές μεν έπὶ τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς ἐπιπηδωντες ἔπίπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, τινὲς δὲ κρατήσαντες της ἐπιβολης ἐν ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων 4 ναυσίν ήγωνίζοντο. τέλος δε δ μεν Λεπτίνης έκβιασθεὶς ἠναγκάσθη φυγεῖν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, αί δέ λοιπαὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀτάκτως τὸν ἐπίπλουν ποιούμεναι ύπὸ τῶν Καρχηδονιων ἐχειροῦντο· καὶ γὰρ τὸ περὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἐλάττωμα τοὺς Φοίνικας εθθαρσεστέρους εποίησεν, τους δε Σικελιώτας ουκ είς την τυχοῦσαν άθυμίαν ήγαγεν.

Της δε μάχης τοιοῦτον λαβούσης τὸ τέλος, οί Καρχηδόνιοι τους ἀτάκτως φεύγοντας σφας φιλοτιμότερον διώξαντες διέφθειραν μὲν ναθς πλείους τῶν ἐκατόν, τὰ δ' ὑπηρετικὰ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν καταστήσαντες ἀνήρουν των ναυτών τοὺς διανηχο-6 μένους πρός τὸ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον. πολλῶν δ'

άπολλυμένων οὐ μακράν τῆς γῆς, τῶν περὶ τὸν Διονύσιον οὐδαμῶς δυναμένων βοηθῆσαι, πᾶς δ τόπος έγεμε νεκρών καὶ ναυαγίων. ἀπώλοντο μέν οὖν ἐν τῆ ναυμαχία τῶν μὲν Καρχηδονίων οὐκ ὀλίγοι, τῶν δὲ Σικελίωτῶν ναῦς μέν πλείω τῶν έκα-7 τόν, ἄνδρες δ' ύπερ τους δισμυρίους. ἀπό δε τῆς

μάχης οἱ μὲν Φοίνικες περὶ τὴν Κατάνην ὁρμίσαν-178

but when Magon's massed ships crowded about the 896 B.C. thirty, the forces of Leptines surpassed in valour, but the Carthaginians in numbers. Consequently, as the battle grew fiercer, the steersmen laid their ships broadside in the fighting and the struggle came to resemble conflicts on land. For they did not drive upon the opposing ships from a distance in order to ram them, but the vessels were locked together and the fighting was hand to hand. Some, as they leaped for the enemy's ships, fell into the sea, and others, who succeeded in their attempt, continued the struggle on the opponents' ships. In the end Leptines was driven off and compelled to flee to the open sea, and his remaining ships, attacking without order, were overcome by the Carthaginians; for the defeat suffered by the admiral raised the spirits of the Phoenicians and markedly discouraged the Sicilian Greeks.

After the battle had ended in the manner we have described, the Carthaginians pursued with even greater ardour the enemy who were fleeing in disorder and destroyed more than one hundred of their ships, and stationing their lighter craft along the shore, they slew any of the sailors who were swimming toward the land army. And as they perished in great numbers not far from the land, while the troops of Dionysius were unable to help them in any way, the whole region was full of corpses and wreckage. There perished in the sea battle no small number of Carthaginians, but the loss of the Sicilian Greeks amounted to more than one hundred ships and over twenty thousand men. After the battle the Phoenicians anchored their triremes in the harbour of Catanê,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: παρά.

τες τὰς τριήρεις, ἀνήψαντο τὰς αἰχμαλώτους ναῦς, καὶ καθελκύσαντες αὐτὰς ἐθεράπευον, ώστε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις μη μόνον ἀκουστόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεω-

ρητόν ποιησαι το μέγεθος τοῦ προτερήματος.

61. Οἱ δὲ Σικελιῶται τὴν πορείαν μὲν ἐπὶ Συ-ρακουσῶν ἐποιήσαντο, νομίζοντες δὲ² πάντως εἰς έργώδη πολιορκίαν συγκλεισθήσεσθαι παρεκάλουν τον Διονύσιον εὐθέως ἀπαντᾶν τοῖς περὶ τον Ἰμίλκωνα διὰ τὴν γεγενημένην νίκην τάχα γὰρ τῷ παραδόξω της επιφανείας καταπλήξεσθαι τους βαρβάρους καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἐλάττωμα διορθώσεσθαι. 2 Διονύσιος δε τὸ μεν πρώτον τοῖς παρακαλοῦσι πειθόμενος έτοιμος ην άγειν την δύναμιν έπι τον 'Ιμίλκωνα· ώς δέ τινες τῶν φίλων ἔλεγον αὐτῶ. ότι κινδυνεύσει την πόλιν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐὰν Μάγων αναχθη μετά τοῦ στόλου παντὸς ἐπὶ Συρακουσῶν, εὐθέως μετενόησε καὶ γὰρ τὴν Μεσσήνην ἤδει τῶ παραπλησίω τρόπω τοῖς βαρβάροις ὑποχείριον γεγενημένην. ώστε οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι νομίζων ἔρημον ποιησαι την πόλιν των αμυνομένων, ανέζευξεν 3 έπὶ Συρακουσών. των δὲ Σικελιωτών οι πλείστοι χαλεπώς φέροντες ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπανταν, καταλιπόντες τον Διονύσιον οί μέν είς τὰς ίδίας πατρίδας, οί δ' είς τὰ σύνεγγυς<sup>3</sup> τῶν φρουρίων ἀπεχώρησαν.

'Ιμίλκων δὲ δυσὶν ἡμέραις κατανύσας εἰς τὸν των Καταναίων αἰγιαλον τὰς μὲν ναῦς ἀπάσας ένεώλκησε, μεγάλου πνεύματος έπιγενομένου, την δε δύναμιν έφ' ήμερας τινάς άναλαμβάνων πρέσ-

3 τὰ σύνεγγυς Vogel: τὰς ἐγγύς.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ καθελκύσαντες] κ. ἀνελκύσαντες Eichstädt, κάνελκύσαντες <sup>2</sup> δè added by Dindorf. Vogel.

took in tow the ships they had captured, and when 396 B.C. they had brought them in, repaired them, so that they made the greatness of their success not only a tale for the ears but also a sight for the eyes of the Carthaginians.<sup>1</sup>

61. The Sicilian Greeks made their way toward Syracuse, but as they reflected that they would certainly be invested and forced to endure a laborious siege, they urged Dionysius to seek an immediate encounter with Himilcon because of his past victory; for, they said, perhaps their unexpected appearance would strike terror into the barbarians and they could repair their late reverse. Dionysius was at first won over by these advisers and ready to lead his army against Himilcon, but when some of his friends told him that he ran the risk of losing the city if Magon should set out with his entire fleet against Syracuse, he quickly changed his mind; and in fact he knew that Messenê had fallen to the hands of the barbarians in a similar manner.2 And so, believing that it was not safe to strip the city of defenders, he set out for Syracuse. The majority of the Sicilian Greeks, being angered at his unwillingness to encounter the enemy, deserted Dionysius, some of them departing to their own countries and others to fortresses in the neighbourhood.

Himilton, who had reached in two days the coast of the Catanaeans, hauled all the ships up on land, since a strong wind had arisen, and, while resting his forces for some days, sent ambassadors to the Cam-

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the army of Himilcon.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. chap. 57.

βεις ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς τὴν Αἴτνην κατέχοντας Καμπανούς, παρακαλῶν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ Διονυσίου. 5 ἐπηγγέλλετο δ' αὐτοῖς χώραν τε δωρήσεσθαι πολλὴν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων κοινωνοὺς ποιήσεσθαι: ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἐντελλαν κατοικοῦντας Καμπανοὺς εὐδοκοῦντας Καρχηδονίοις καὶ συμμαχοῦντας κατὰ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, ¹ καθόλου δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεδείκνυε πολέμιον ὑπο άρχον τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. οἱ δὲ Καμπανοὶ δεδωκότες ὁμήρους τῷ Διονυσίῳ, καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπεσταλκότες εἰς Συρακούσας, ἡναγκάσθησαν διατηρῆσαι τὴν πρὸς Διονύσιον συμμαχίαν, καίπερ ἐπιθυμοῦντες μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς

Καρχηδονίους.

62. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν καταπεπληγμένος τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρός τε τοὺς κατ' Ἰταλίαν "Ελληνας καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔτι δὲ Κορινθίους, Πολύξενον τὸν κηδεστήν, δεόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν τὰς ἐν Σικελία πόλεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρδην ἀναιρουμένας. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ξενολόγους εἰς Πελοπόννησον μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων, ἐντειλάμενος ὡς πλείστους ἀθροίζειν στρατιώτας μὴ φειδομένους τῶν μισθῶν. Ἰμίλκων δὲ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκύλοις κοσμήσας τὰς ναῦς κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ πολλὴν τοῖς ἐν τῆ πόλει κατάπληξιν ἐπέστησεν. διακόσιαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ πεντήκοντα μακραὶ ναῦς εἰσέπλεον ἐν τάξει τὰς εἰρεσίας ποιούμεναι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύροις πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημέναι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱ φορτηγοὶ ναῦς εἰσθεόμεναι μὲν ὑπὲρ τρισχιλίας, φέρουσαι δὲ πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αἱ δὲ πᾶσαι 182

panians who held Aetnê, urging them to revolt from 396 B.C. Dionysius. He promised both to give them a large amount of territory and to let them share in the spoils of the war; he also informed them that the Campanians dwelling in Entella found no fault with the Carthaginians and took their side against the Sicilian Greeks, and he pointed out that as a general thing the Greeks as a race are the enemies of all other peoples. But since the Campanians had given hostages to Dionysius and had sent their choicest troops to Syracuse, they were compelled to maintain the alliance with Dionysius, although they would gladly have joined the Carthaginians.

62. After this Dionysius, who was in terror of the Carthaginians, sent his brother-in-law Polyxenus as ambassador both to the Greeks in Italy and to the Lacedaemonians, as well as the Corinthians, begging them to come to his aid and not to suffer the Greek cities of Sicily to be utterly destroyed. He also sent to the Peloponnesus men with ample funds to recruit mercenaries, ordering them to enlist as many soldiers as they could without regard to economy. Himilcon decked his ships with the spoils taken from the enemy and put in at the great harbour of the Syracusans, and he caused great dismay among the inhabitants of the city. For two hundred and fifty ships of war entered the harbour, with oars flashing in order and richly decked with the spoils of war; then came the merchantmen, in excess of three thousand, laden with more than five hundred . . .; and the whole

<sup>1</sup> και after Σικελιωτών deleted by Vogel.

σχεδον δισχίλιαι. διο καὶ συνέβαινε τον λιμένα τῶν Συρακοσίων, καίπερ ὄντα μέγαν, ἐμπεφράχθαι μὲν τοῖς σκάφεσι, συγκαλύπτεσθαι δὲ σχεδον 3 άπαντα τοις ιστίοις. τούτων δε καθορμισθεισών εὐθὺς καὶ τὸ πεζὸν στρατόπεδον ἐκ θατέρου μέρους άντιπαρηγε, συνεστηκός, ώς μέν τινες άνέγραψαν, έκ τριάκοντα μυριάδων πεζών, ίππέων δὲ τρισχιλίων.3 ό μεν οδν στρατηγός των δυνάμεων 'Ιμίλκων κατεσκήνωσεν έν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς νεώ, τὸ δὲ λοιπον πληθος εν τῷ παρακειμένω τόπω κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπέχον τῆς πάλεως σταδίους δώδεκα. 4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰμίλκων ἐξήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἄπασαν καὶ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξέταξε τὴν δύναμιν, εἰς μάχην προκαλούμενος τοὺς Συρακοσίους. ἐπέπλευσε δε και τοις λιμέσιν εκατόν ναυσι ταις άρίσταις, ὅπως καταπλήξηται τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ συναναγκάση συγχωρεῖν ἥττους εἶναι καὶ κατὰ 5 θάλατταν. οὐδενὸς δ' ἐπεξιέναι τολμῶντος τότε μεν απηγε την δύναμιν είς την στρατοπεδείαν, μετά δὲ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα τὴν χώραν ἐπήει δενδροτομών καὶ πᾶσαν φθείρων, ὅπως ἄμα μὲν τους στρατιώτας πληρώση παντοίας ώφελείας, αμα δε τους εντός των τειχών είς άθυμίαν καταστήση. 63. Κατελάβετο δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς ᾿Αχραδινῆς προάστειον, καὶ τοὺς νεὼς τῆς τε Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἐσύλησεν ὑπὲρ ὧν ταχὺ τῆς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβείας ἀξίαν ὑπέσχε τιμωρίαν. ταχὺ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐγίνετο χείρω, καὶ τοῦ

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  εἰσθεόμεναι . . . δισχίλιαι] Vogel joins Wesseling in refusing to attempt emendation of this hopeless passage. The numbers may be compared with those in chs. 47. 7; 54. 5; 56. 1; 59. 7.

fleet numbered some two thousand vessels. The 396 B.C. result was that the harbour of the Syracusans, despite its great size, was blocked up by the vessels and it was almost entirely concealed from view by the sails. The ships had just come to anchor when at once from the other side the land army advanced, consisting, as some have reported, of three hundred thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The general of the armaments, Himilcon, took up his quarters in the temple of Zeus and the rest of the multitude encamped in the neighbourhood twelve stades from the city. After this Himilcon led out the entire army and drew up his troops in battle order before the walls, challenging the Syracusans to battle; and he also sailed up to the harbours with a hundred of his finest ships in order to strike terror into the inhabitants of the city and to force them to concede that they were inferior at sea as well. But when no one ventured to come out against him, for the time being he withdrew his troops to the camp and then for thirty days overran the countryside, cutting down the trees and laving it all waste, in order not only to satisfy the soldiers with every kind of plunder, but also to reduce the besieged to despair.

63. Himilton seized the suburb of Achradinê; and he also plundered the temples of both Demeter and Corê, for which acts of impiety against the divinity he quickly suffered a fitting penalty. For his fortune quickly worsened from day to day, and whenever

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> What Diodorus wrote in this sentence can never be known.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> μèν after τὸν deleted by Dindorf.

 $<sup>^3</sup>$  νεῶν δὲ μακρῶν διακοσίων after τρισχιλίων deleted by Wesseling.  $^4$  So Hertlein: ἔταξε.

Διονυσίου θαρροῦντος ἀκροβολισμοὺς συνίστασθαι 2 συνέβαινε προτερείν τους Συρακοσίους. εγίνοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω παράλογοι ταραχαὶ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων συνέτρεχον, ώς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθεμένων τῷ χάρακι. ἐπεγενήθη δὲ καὶ νόσος, η πάντων αὐτοῖς αἰτία κακῶν κατέστη. περί ής μικρον υστερον έρουμεν, ίνα μη προλαμ-

βάνωμεν τη γραφη τούς καιρούς.

'Ιμίλκων μέν οὖν τεῖχος περιβαλὼν τῆ παρεμβολή τους τάφους σχεδον πάντας τους σύνεγγυς καθείλεν, εν οίς τόν τε Γέλωνος και της γυναικός αὐτοῦ Δημαρέτης, πολυτελώς κατεσκευασμένους. ῷκοδόμησε δὲ καὶ τρία φρούρια παρὰ θάλατταν, τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ μέσου τοῦ λιμένος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Διός· εἰς δὲ ταῦτα τόν τε οίνον καὶ τὸν σίτον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατεκόμιζε, νομίζων χρονιωτέραν έσεσθαι 4 την πολιορκίαν. ἀπέστειλε δὲ καὶ τὰς δλκάδας ναθς ές τε Σαρδώνα καὶ Λιβύην, ὅπως σῖτον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τροφὰς παρακομίζωσιν. Πολύξενος δὲ δ Διονυσίου κηδεστής έκ τε Πελοποννήσου καὶ τῆς 'Ιταλίας παρεγενήθη ναῦς μακρὰς ἄγων τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ ναύαρχον Φαρακίδαν Λακεδαιμόνιον.

64. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν καὶ Λεπτίνης μετὰ μακρῶν νεῶν ἐξέπλεον¹ ἀγορὰν βουλόμενοι παρακομίσαι, οἱ δὲ² Συρακόσιοι καθ' αύτούς τε γενόμενοι καὶ κατά τύχην ιδόντες σιτηγόν πλοιον προσφερόμενον, πέντε ναυσίν ἐπέπλευσαν αὐτῷ, καὶ 2 κατακυριεύσαντες κατήγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ἐπ' αὐτούς ἀναχθέντων τετταράκοντα

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἐξέπλεον added by Reiske.

Dionysius made bold to skirmish with him, the Syra- 396 B.C. cusans had the better of it. Also at night unaccountable tumults would arise in the camp and the soldiers would rush to arms, thinking that the enemy was attacking the palisade. To this was added a plague which was the cause of every kind of suffering. But of this we shall speak a little later, in order that our account may not anticipate the proper time.

Now when he threw a wall about the camp, Himilcon destroyed practically all the tombs in the area, among which was that of Gelon and his wife Demaretê, of costly construction. He also built three forts along the sea, one at Plemmyrium,2 one at the middle of the harbour, and one by the temple of Zeus, and into them he brought wine and grain and all other provisions, believing that the siege would continue a long time. He also dispatched merchant ships to Sardinia and Libya to secure grain and every kind of food. Polyxenus, the brother-in-law of Dionysius, arrived from the Peloponnesus and Italy, bringing thirty warships from his allies, with Pharacidas 3 the Lacedaemonian as admiral.

64. After this Dionysius and Leptines had set out with warships to escort a supply of provisions; and the Syracusans, who were thus left to themselves, seeing by chance a vessel approaching laden with food, sailed out against it with five ships, seized it, and brought it to the city. The Carthaginians put out against them with forty ships, whereupon the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 11. 38. 4 f.

<sup>2</sup> The headland which formed the south side of the entrance

to the Great Harbour (Thucydides, 7.4).

<sup>3</sup> Beloch (Rhein. Mus. 34. 124) thinks that Pharacidas is the Pharax of Xenophon, Hell. 3. 2. 12, who was Spartan admiral in 397 B.C.

ναυσίν, οί Συρακόσιοι πάσας ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες της τε στρατηγίδος νεώς έκυρίευσαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρας διέφθειραν· καταδιώξαντες δὲ τὰς φευγούσας μέχρι τοῦ ναυστάθμου τῶν πολεμίων, προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς 3 Καρχηδονίους είς ναυμαχίαν. ἐκεῖνοι μέν οὖν διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τεταραγμένοι ήσυχίαν έσχον, οί δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὰς αἰχμαλώτους ναῦς ἀναψάμενοι² κατήγαγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. μετεωρισθέντες δὲ τῷ προτερήματι, καὶ διαλογιζόμενοι τὸν μὲν Διονύσιον πλεονάκις ήττημένον, αύτους δε χωρίς εκείνου νενικηκότας Καρχηδονίους, φρονήματος επληροῦντο. 4 άθροιζόμενοι δε διελάλουν, ότι περιορώσιν αύτους δουλεύοντας Διονυσίω, καὶ ταῦτα καιρὸν ἔχοντες της καταλύσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν γρόνον ήσαν άφωπλισμένοι, τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον 5 των ὅπλων ἦσαν κύριοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοιούτων λόγων γινομένων Διονύσιος κατέπλευσε, καὶ συναγαγών ἐκκλησίαν ἐπήνει τοὺς Συρακοσίους καὶ παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος ταχέως κατα-λύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη δ' αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος διαλύειν την εκκλησίαν αναστάς Θεόδωρος ό Συρακόσιος, εν τοις ίππεθσιν εθδοκιμών καὶ δοκών είναι πρακτικός, ἀπετόλμησε περί τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοιούτοις χρήσασθαι λόγοις.

65. Εἰ καί τινα προσέψευσται Διονύσιος, τό γε ρηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ τελευταῖον ἀληθὲς ἡν, ὅτι ταχέως καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον. τοῦτο δὲ πρᾶξαι δύναιτ' ἄν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀφηγούμενος, ἤττηται γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf and Vogel add τὴν after τεταραγμένοι.

Syracusans manned all their ships and in the ensuing 396 B.C. battle both captured the flag-ship and destroyed twenty-four of the remainder; and then, pursuing the fleeing ships as far as the enemy's anchorage, they challenged the Carthaginians to battle. When the latter, confused at the unexpected turn of events, made no move, the Syracusans took the captured ships in tow and brought them to the city. Elated at their success and thinking how often Dionysius had met defeat, whereas they, without his presence, had won a victory over the Carthaginians, they were now puffed up with pride. And as they gathered in groups they talked together about how they took no steps to end their slavery to Dionysius, even though they had an opportunity to depose him; for up until then they had been without arms, but now because of the war they had weapons at their command. Even while discussions of this kind were taking place, Dionysius sailed into the harbour and, calling an assembly, praised the Syracusans and urged them to be of good courage, promising that he would speedily put an end to the war. And he was on the point of dismissing the assembly when Theodorus, a Syracusan, who was held in high esteem among the cavalry and was considered a man of action, made bold to speak as follows in regard to their liberty.

65. "Although Dionysius has introduced some falsehoods, the last statement he made was true: that he would speedily put an end to the war. He could accomplish this if he were no longer our commander—for he has often been defeated—but had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 10. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: ἐναψάμενοι.

πολλάκις, άλλὰ τὴν πάτριον ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδούς 2 τοις πολίταις. νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεις ἡμῶν προθύμως ὑπομένει τοὺς κινδύνους, ὅταν ἡ νίκη μηδὲν ἦττον ἢ τῆς ἤττης λειφθέντας γὰρ Καρχηδονίοις δεήσει ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον, νικήσαντας δὲ Διονύσιον έχειν βαρύτερον έκείνων δεσπότην. Καρχηδόνιοι μέν γάρ, κἃν πολέμω κρατήσωσι, φόρον ὧρισμένον λαβόντες οὐκ ἂν ἡμᾶς ἐκώλυσαν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις διοικεῖν τὴν πόλιν οὖτος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ συλήσας, τούς δέ τῶν ιδιωτῶν πλούτους ἄμα ταῖς τῶν κεκτημένων ψυχαῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοὺς οἰκέτας μισθοδοτεί κατά της των δεσποτών δουλείας καὶ . τὰ συμβαίνοντα κατὰ τὰς τῶν πόλεων άλώσεις δεινά, ταῦτ' ἐν εἰρήνη πράττων καταλύσειν ἐπαγ-3 γέλλεται τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον. ἡμῖν δ', ὢ ἄνδρες, οὐχ ήττον τοῦ Φοινικικοῦ πολέμου καταλυτέον έστι τον έντος του τείχους τύραννον. ή μεν γαρ ακρόπολις δούλων ὅπλοις τηρουμένη κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτετείχισται, τὸ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων πληθος ἐπὶ δουλεία τῶν Συρακοσίων ήθροισται καὶ κρατεῖ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐπ' ἴσης βραβεύων τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μόναρχος πλεονεξία κρίνων πράττειν πάντα. καὶ νῦν μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι βραχὺ μέρος ἔχουσι τῆς χώρας, Διονύσιος δὲ πᾶσαν ποιήσας άνάστατον τοις την τυραννίδα συναύξουσιν έδωρήσατο.

4 Μέχρι τίνος οὖν καρτερήσομεν ταὖτα πάσχοντες ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ χάριν τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν πεῖραν ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπομένουσιν; καὶ πρὸς μὲν Καρχηδονίους ἀγωνιζόμενοι τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους εὐψύχως ὑπομένομεν, πρὸς δὲ πικρὸν τύραννον ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ περὶ πατρίδος οὐδὲ λόγῳ παρρησίαν 190

returned to the citizens the freedom their fathers 396 B.C. enjoyed. As things are, no one of us faces battle with good courage so long as victory differs not a whit from defeat; for if conquered, we shall have to obey the commands of the Carthaginians, and if conquerors, to have in Dionysius a harsher master than they would be. For even should the Carthaginians defeat us in war, they would only impose a fixed tribute and would not prevent us from governing the city in accordance with our ancient laws; but this man has plundered our temples, has taken the property of private citizens together with the lives of their owners, and pays a wage to servants to secure the enslavement of their masters. Such horrors as attend the storming of cities are perpetrated by him in time of peace, yet he promises to put an end to the war with the Carthaginians. But it behooves us, fellow citizens, to put an end not only to the Phoenician war but to the tyrant within our walls. For the acropolis, which is guarded by the weapons of slaves, is a hostile redoubt in our city; the multitude of mercenaries has been gathered to hold the Syracusans in slavery; and he lords it over the city, not like a magistrate dispensing justice on equal terms, but like a dictator who by policy makes all decisions for his own advantage. For the time being the enemy possess a small portion of our territory, but Dionysius has devastated it all and given it to those who join in increasing his tyranny.

"How long, then, are we to be patient though we suffer such abuses as brave men endure to die rather than experience them? In battle against the Carthaginians we bravely face the final sacrifice, but against a harsh tyrant, in behalf of freedom and our father-

ἔτι ἄγειν τολμωμεν καὶ ταῖς μὲν τοσαύταις μυριάσι τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιταττόμεθα, μόναρχον δὲ οὐδ' ἀνδραπόδου γενναίου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα πεφρίκαμεν.

66. Οὐ γὰρ δήπουθεν ἀξιώσαι τις ἂν παραβάλλειν Διονύσιον τῷ παλαιῷ Γέλωνι. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γάρ μετά της ίδίας άρετης, μετά των Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σικελιωτῶν ἡλευθέρωσε τὴν Σικελίαν ἄπασαν, ὁ δ' ἐν ἐλευθερία παραλαβών τὰς πόλεις των μεν άλλων άπασων κυρίους πεποίηκε τούς πολεμίους, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πατρίδα καταδεδού-2 λωται. κάκεῖνος μέν πολύ πρό τῆς Σικελίας άγωνισάμενος τους έν ταις πόλεσιν όντας συμμάχους οὐδε ἰδεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐποίησεν, ὁ δ' ἀπὸ Μοτύης διὰ πάσης τῆς νήσου φυγών συγκέκλεικεν έαυτον έντος των τειχών, πρός μέν τούς πολίτας θρασυνόμενος, τους δε πολεμίους οὐδε κατ' ὄψιν 3 ίδειν ύπομένων. τοιγαρούν έκεινος μέν διά τε την άρετὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πράξεων οὐ μόνον τῶν Συρακοσίων, άλλα και των Σικελιωτών έκουσίων παρέλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὁ δ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρω μὲν τῶν συμμάχων, ἐπὶ δουλεία δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν στρατηγήσας, πως οὐκ ἀν δικαίως ὑπὸ πάντων μισοῖτο; οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡγεμονίας ἀνάξιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίων 4 θανάτων τυχεῖν δίκαιος. Γέλα καὶ Καμάρινα διὰ τοῦτον κατεστράφησαν, Μεσσήνη ἄρδην ἀνήρηται, κατά ναυμαχίαν δισμύριοι των συμμάχων απολώλασι, τὸ σύνολον<sup>3</sup> εἰς μίαν κατακεκλείσμεθα πόλιν, των κατά Σικελίαν Έλληνίδων πασών άνηρημένων.

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι ἄγειν Dindorf: ἐπάγειν.

land, even in speech we no longer dare to raise our 396 B.O. voices; we face in battle so many myriads of the enemy, but we stand in shivering fear of a single ruler, who has not the manliness of a superior slave.

66. "Surely no one would think of comparing Dionysius with Gelon 1 of old. For Gelon, by reason of his own high character, together with the Syracusans and the rest of the Sicilian Greeks, set free the whole of Sicily, whereas this man, who found the cities free, has delivered all the rest of them over to the lordship of the enemy and has himself enslaved his native state. Gelon fought so far forward in behalf of Sicily that he never let his allies in the cities even catch sight of the enemy, whereas this man, after fleeing from Motyê through the entire length of the island, has cooped himself up within our walls. full of confidence against his fellow citizens, but unable to bear even the sight of the enemy. As a consequence Gelon, by reason both of his high character and of his great deeds, received the leadership by the free will not only of the Syracusans but also of the Sicilian Greeks, while, as for this man whose generalship has led to the destruction of his allies and the enslavement of his fellow citizens, how can he escape the just hatred of all? For not only is he unworthy of leadership but, if justice were done, would die ten thousand deaths. Because of him Gela and Camarina were subdued, Messenê lies in total ruin, twenty thousand allies are perished in a seabattle, and, in a word, we have been enclosed in one city and all the other Greek cities throughout Sicily

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Book 11, 21-26.

<sup>2</sup> So Wurm : συμμαχίαν. <sup>3</sup> σύνολον Dindorf : οὖν ὄλον. VOL. VI H 193

πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀδικήμασι¹ Νάξον καὶ Κατάνην ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, πόλεις συμμαχίδας, ἐπι
καίρους πόλεις, ἄρδην ἀνήρηκεν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν Καρχηδονίους δύο μάχας ἐνστησάμενος ἐν ἑκατέραις ἤττηται, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολίταις πιστευθεὶς ἄπαξ στρατηγίας εὐθέως ἀφείλετο τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, φονεύων μὲν τοὺς παρρησίαν ἄγοντας ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων, φυγαδεύων δὲ τοὺς ταῖς οὐσίαις προέχοντας, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν φυγάδων γυναῖκας οἰκέταις καὶ μιγάσιν ἀνθρώποις συνοικίζων, τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν ὅπλων βαρβάρους καὶ ξένους ποιῶν κυρίους. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραξεν, ὧ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ πάντες, ὑπηρέτης ἀρχείων, ἀπεγνωσμένος ἄνθρωπος.

67. Καὶ ποῦ τὸ φιλελεύθερον τῶν Συρακοσίων; ποῦ δ' αἱ τῶν προγόνων πράξεις; ἐῶ τὰς² ἐφ' Ἡμέρα τριάκοντα μυριάδας ἄρδην ἀναιρεθείσας Καρχηδονίων, παρίημι τὴν τῶν μετὰ Γέλωνα³ τυράννων κατάλυσιν· ἀλλ² ἐχθὲς καὶ πρώην, 'Αθηναίων τηλικαύταις δυνάμεσιν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας στρατευσάντων, οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπέλιπον. ἡμεῖς δὲ τηλικαῦτ' ἔχοντες πατέρων παραδείγματ' ἀρετῆς, τοῦ Διονυσίου προστάγμασιν ὑπακούομεν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ὅπλων ὅντες κύριοι; θεῶν γάρ τις πρόνοια μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἡμᾶς συνήγαγε πρὸς τὸ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνακτήσασθαι, καὶ πάρεστι τήμερον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γενομένους καὶ συμφρονήσαντας 3 ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς βαρείας ἀνάγκης. τὸν μὲν γὰρ

¹ So Wurm : ἀτυχήμασι. ² ἐῶ τὰς Wesseling, ὧ ταῦτ' PAL, ὧν ταῦτ' cet. ³ μετὰ Γέλωνα Wesseling, καταγέλων P, κατὰ Γέλωνα cet.

have been destroyed. For in addition to his other 306 B C. malefactions he sold into slavery Naxos and Catanê; he has completely destroyed cities that were allies, cities whose existence was opportune. With the Carthaginians he has fought two battles and has come out vanquished in each. Yet when he was entrusted with a generalship by the citizens but one time, he speedily robbed them of their freedom, slaying those who spoke openly on behalf of the laws and exiling the more wealthy; he gave the wives of the banished in marriage to slaves and to a motley throng; he put the weapons of citizens in the hands of barbarians and foreigners. And these deeds, O Zeus and all the gods, were the work of a public clerk, of a desperate man.

67. "Where, then, is the Syracusans' love of freedom? Where the deeds of our ancestors? I say nothing of the three hundred thousand Carthaginians who were totally destroyed at Himera 1; I pass by the overthrow of the tyrants who followed Gelon.2 But only yesterday, as it were, when the Athenians attacked Syracuse with such great armaments, our fathers left not a man free to carry back word of the disaster. And shall we, who have such great examples of our fathers' valour, take orders from Dionysius, especially when we have weapons in our hands? Surely some divine providence has gathered us here, with allies about us and weapons in our hands, for the purpose of recovering our freedom, and it is within our power this day to play the part of brave men and rid ourselves with one accord of our heavy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 11. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 11. 67-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> εί after ἀλλ' omitted by A, Vogel.

ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον παρωπλισμένοι καὶ ἔρημοι¹ συμμάχων ὅντες, τῷ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων πλήθει τηρούμενοι,² σχεδὸν εἴκομεν τῷ τῆς ἀνάγκης καιρῷ νῦν δὲ τῶν ὅπλων κυριεύοντες καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἄμα βοηθοὺς καὶ θεατὰς ἔχοντες τῆς ἀρετῆς, μὴ παραχωρήσωμεν ἀλλὰ ποιήσωμεν φανερόν, ὡς διὰ καιρόν, οὐ δι᾽ ἀνανδρίαν ὑπεμείναμεν δουλεύειν. 4 οὐκ αἰσχυνόμεθα τῶν πολέμων ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἱερὰ σεσυληκότα, καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ποιοῦντες προστάτην, ῷ βίον ἰδιωτικὸν οὐδεὶς ἄν εὖ φρονῶν διοικεῖν ἐπιτρέψειεν; καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις μάλιστα τηρούντων τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κινδύνων, ἡμεῖς τὸν ἐπ᾽ ἀσεβεία διωνομασμένον ἐλπίζομεν καταλύσειν τὸν³ πόλεμον;

68. Καίτοι γε εἴ τις βούλεται τἀκριβὲς ζητεῖν, εὐρήσει Διονύσιον οὐχ ἦττον τοῦ πολέμου τὴν εἰρήνην εὐλαβούμενον. νῦν μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον νομίζει τοὺς Συρακοσίους μηθὲν ἐπιχειρήσειν κατ' αὐτοῦ πρᾶξαι, καταπονηθέντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀντιλήψεσθαι τῆς έλευθερίας, τῶν μὲν ὅπλων κυριεύοντας, διὰ δὲ τὰς πράξεις πεφρονηματισμένους. διὰ τοῦτο γάρ, οἶμαι, κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον προδοὺς Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ταύτας ἀοικήτους ἐποίησεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐκδότους τὰς πλείστας 'Ελ-

καὶ ἔρημοι suggested by Vogel.
 So Wesseling: πληρούμενοι.
 τὸν added by Eichstädt.

voke. For hitherto, while we were disarmed and 396 B.C. without allies and guarded by a multitude of mercenaries, we have, I dare say, yielded to the pressure of circumstances; but now, since we have arms in our hands and allies to give us aid as well as bear witness of our bravery, let us not yield but make it clear that it was circumstances, not cowardice, that made us submit to slavery. Are we not ashamed that we should have as commander in our wars the man who has plundered the temples of our city and that we choose as representative in such important matters a person to whom no man of good sense would entrust the management of his private affairs? And though all other peoples in times of war, because of the great perils they face, observe with the greatest care their obligations to the gods, do we expect that a man of such notorious impiety will put an end to the war?

68. "In fact, if a man cares to put a finer point on it, he will find that Dionysius is as wary of peace as he is of war. For he believes that, as matters stand, the Syracusans, because of their fear of the enemy, will not attempt anything against him, but that once the Carthaginians have been defeated they will claim their freedom, since they will have weapons in their hands and will be proudly conscious of their deeds. Indeed this is the reason, in my opinion, why in the first war he betrayed Gela and Camarina 1 and made these cities desolate, and why in his negotiations he agreed that most of the Greek cities should be given over to the enemy. After this he broke faith in time

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 13, 111.

<sup>4</sup> ἀοικήτους after πλείστας deleted by Reiske.

Νάξον καὶ Κατάνην παρασπονδῶν ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἣν μὲν κατέσκαψεν, ἢν δὲ τοῖς ἐξ Ἰταλίας Καμπανοῖς οἰκητήριον ἔδωκεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀπολομένων οἱ περιλειφθέντες πολλάκις ἐπεβάλοντο καταλῦσαι τὴν τυραννίδα, πάλιν τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις πόλεμον κατήγγειλεν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐλαβεῖτο λῦσαι τὰς συνθήκας παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους, ὡς ἐφοβεῖτο τὰ περιλελειμμένα¹ συστήματα τῶν Σικελιωτῶν.

Καὶ δὴ φαίνεται διὰ παντὸς ἐπηγρυπνηκώς τῆ 5 τούτων ἀπωλεία. καὶ πρώτον μὲν περὶ Πάνορμον δυνάμενος παρατάξασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀποβαινόντων ἐκ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ σώματα κακῶς έχόντων διὰ τὸν σάλον, οὐκ ήβουλήθη μετὰ δὲ ταθτα την Μεσσήνην ἐπίκαιρον καὶ τηλικαύτην πόλιν άβοήθητον περιιδών είασε κατασκαφηναι, όπως μή μόνον ώς πλείστοι διαφθείρωνται τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς ἐξ Ἰταλίας βοηθείας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στόλους ἐμφρά-6 ξωσιν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐν τῷ Καταναίων αἰγιαλῷ διηγωνίσατο, παρείς πρός τῆ πόλει τὴν μάχην συστήσασθαι πρός τὸ τοὺς ἐλαττουμένους καταφεύγειν είς τους οἰκείους λιμένας. μετά δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν, μεγάλων πνευμάτων ἐπιγενομένων καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀναγκασθέντων νεωλκησαι τὸν 7 στόλον, καιρόν είχε τοῦ νικᾶν κάλλιστον το μέν γάρ πεζον στράτευμα των πολεμίων ούπω κατηντηκός ήν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμώνος ἐπὶ τὸν αίγιαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς ναῦς ἐξέβραττεν. τότε συνεπιθεμένων ήμων πεζή πάντων ήναγκάσθησαν αν

of peace with Naxos and Catanê and sold the in- 396 B.C. habitants into slavery, razing one to the ground and giving the other to the Campanians from Italy to dwell in. And when, after the destruction of these peoples, the rest of Sicily made many attempts to overthrow his tyranny, he again declared war upon the Carthaginians; for his scruple against breaking his agreement in violation of the oaths he had taken was not so great as his fear of the surviving concentrations of the Sicilian Greeks.

"Moreover, it is obvious that he has been at all times on the alert to effect their destruction. of all at Panormus, when the enemy were disembarking and were in bad physical condition after the stormy passage, he could have offered battle, but did not choose to do so. After that he stood idly by and sent no help to Messenê, a city strategically situated and of great size, but allowed it to be razed, not only in order that the greatest possible number of Sicilian Greeks should perish, but also that the Carthaginians might intercept the reinforcements from Italy and the fleets from the Peloponnesus. Last of all, he joined battle offshore at Catane, careless of the advantage of pitching battle near the city, where the vanquished could find safety in their own harbours. After the battle, when strong winds sprang up and the Carthaginians were forced to haul their fleet up on land, he had a most favourable opportunity for victory; for the land forces of the enemy had not yet arrived and the violent storm was driving the enemy's ships on the shore. At that time, if we had all attacked on land, the only outcomes left the enemy would have been, either to be captured with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Reiske: παραλελειμμένα.

<sup>2</sup> av added by Reiske.

ἀποβαίνοντες άλίσκεσθαι ράδίως ἢ πρὸς τὰ κύματα βιαζόμενοι τὸν αἰγιαλὸν πληρῶσαι ναυαγίων.

69. 'Αλλά τὸ μὲν Διονυσίου κατηγορεῖν ἐν Συρακοσίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω. εὶ γὰρ οἱ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἀνήκεστα παθόντες οὐκ ἐγείρονται τοῖς θυμοῖς, ἦπου τοῖς λόγοις προαχθήσονται πρός την κατά τούτου τιμωρίαν, καὶ ταθτ' ιδόντες αὐτὸν πολίτην μεν γεγονότα πονηρότατον, τύραννον δέ πικρότατον, στρατηγόν δέ 2 πάντων ἀγενέστατον; δσάκις μεν γὰρ σὺν τούτω παρεταξάμεθα, τοσαυτάκις ήττήθημεν νυνὶ δὲ καθ' αύτους ολίγαις ναυσί την πάσαν των πολεμίων δύναμιν κατεναυμαχήσαμεν. διόπερ έτερον ήγεμόνα ζητητέον, ὅπως μὴ τὸν σεσυληκότα τοὺς τῶν θεών ναούς στρατηγόν έχοντες έν τῷ πολέμω θεο-3 μαχῶμεν. φανερῶς γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀντιπράττει τοις τον ἀσεβέστατον προχειρισαμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ήγεμονίαν. τὸ γὰρ μετὰ μὲν τούτου πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις ήττησθαι, χωρίς δέ τούτου καὶ βραχύ μέρος ίκανὸν είναι καταπολεμήσαι Καρχηδονίους, πως οὐ πασιν δρατὴν ἔχει τὴν των θεων ἐπιφά-4 νειαν; διόπερ, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἐὰν μὲν ἑκὼν ἀποτίθηται την άρχην, εάσωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι μετὰ των ίδίων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται, καιρον έχομεν κάλλιστον τον παρόντα προς το της έλευθερίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. πάντες συνεληλύθαμεν, κύριοι των ὅπλων ἐσμέν, συμμάχους ἔχομεν παρόντας οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας "Ελ-5 ληνας, άλλα και τους από Πελοποννήσου. την δέ 200

ease, if they left their ships, or to strew the coast with 896 B.C. wreckage, if they matched their strength against the waves.

69. "But to lodge accusations against Dionysius at greater length among Syracusans is, I should judge, not necessary. For if men who have suffered in very deed such irretrievable ruin are not roused to rage, will they, forsooth, be moved by words to wreak vengeance upon him-men too who have seen his behaviour as the worst of citizens, the harshest of tyrants, the most ignoble of all generals? For as often as we have stood in line of battle under his command, so often have we been defeated, whereas but just now, when we fought independently, we defeated with a few ships the enemy's entire force. We should, therefore, seek out another leader, to avoid fighting under a general who has pillaged the shrines of the gods and so finding ourselves engaged in a war against the gods; for it is manifest that heaven opposes those who have selected the worst enemy of religion to be their commander. Noting that when he is present our armies in full force suffer defeat, whereas, when he is absent, even a small detachment is sufficient to defeat the Carthaginians, should not all men see in this the visible presence of the gods? Therefore, fellow citizens, if he is willing to lay down his office of his own accord, let us allow him to leave the city with his possessions; but if he does not choose to do so, we have at the present moment the fairest opportunity to assert our freedom. We are all gathered together; we have weapons in our hands; we have allies about us, not only the Greeks from Italy but also those from the Peloponnesus. The chief command must be

ήγεμονίαν δοτέον κατὰ τοὺς νόμους πολίταις ἢ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν μητρόπολιν οἰκοῦσι Κορινθίοις ἢ τοῖς

άφηγουμένοις της Έλλάδος Σπαρτιάταις.

70. Τοιούτοις τοῦ Θεοδώρου χρησαμένου λόγοις, οί μεν Συρακόσιοι μετέωροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγένοντο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπέβλεπον, Φαρακίδου δέ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου ναυαρχοῦντος τῶν συμμάχων παρελθόντος ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα, πάντες προσεδόκων 2 άρχηγον ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας. ὁ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἔχων οἰκείως ἔφησεν αύτὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπεστάλθαι Συρακοσίοις καὶ Διονυσίω συμμαχεῖν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, ἀλλ' οὐ Διονυσίου την άρχην καταλύειν. παρά δε την προσδοκίαν γενομένης της αποφάσεως, οί μεν μισθοφόροι συνέδραμον πρός τον Διονύσιον, οί δε Συρακόσιοι καταπλαγέντες την ήσυχίαν είχον, πολλά τοις 3 Σπαρτιάταις καταρώμενοι καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον 'Αρέτης ο Λακεδαιμόνιος αντιλαμβανόμενος' αὐτῶν της έλευθερίας έγένετο προδότης, και τότε Φαρακίδας ἐνέστη ταῖς όρμαῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τότε μὲν ἐγένετο περίφοβος καὶ διέλυσε την ἐκκλησίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φιλανθρώποις λόγοις χρησάμενος καθωμίλει τῶ πλήθει, καὶ τινὰς μὲν δωρεαῖς ἐτίμα, τινὰς δ' ἐπὶ τὰ συσσίτια παρελάμ-Bav€.

4 Καρχηδονίοις δὲ μετὰ τὴν κατάληψιν⁴ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ τὴν σύλησιν τοῦ τε τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἱεροῦ ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ στράτευμα νόσος· συνεπελάβετο δὲ καὶ τῆ τοῦ δαιμονίου συμφορῷ τὸ⁵

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after συμμάχων deleted by Hertlein.

given, according to the laws, either to citizens, or to 396 B.C. the Corinthians who dwell in our mother-city, or to the Spartans who are the first power in Greece."

70. After this speech by Theodorus the Syracusans were in high spirits and kept their eyes fixed on their allies; and when Pharacidas the Lacedaemonian, the admiral of the allies, stepped up to the platform, all expected that he would take the lead for liberty. But he was on friendly terms with the tyrant and declared that the Lacedaemonians had dispatched him to aid the Syracusans and Dionysius against the Carthaginians, not to overthrow the rule of Dionysius. At this statement so contrary to expectation the mercenaries flocked about Dionysius, and the Syracusans in dismay made no move, although they called down many curses on the Spartans. For on a previous occasion Aretes 1 the Lacedaemonian, at the time that he was asserting the right of the Syracusans to freedom, had betrayed them, and now at this time Pharacidas vetoed the movement of the Syracusans. For the moment Dionysius was in great fear and dissolved the assembly, but later he won the favour of the multitude by kindly words, honouring some of them with gifts and inviting some to general banquets.

After the Carthaginians had seized the suburb and pillaged the temple of Demeter and Corê, a plague struck the army. Over and above the disaster sent by influence of the deity, there were contributing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 10 above, where he is called Aristus.

² ἀντιλαμβανόμενος] ἀντιλαμβανομένων Reiske, Vogel.
 ³ τῷ πλήθει] τὰ πλήθη Reiske, Vogel.
 ⁴ So Wesseling: κατάλυσιν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> το added by Eichstädt.

μυριάδας είς ταὐτὸ συναθροισθηναι καὶ τὸ της ώρας είναι πρὸς τὰς νόσους ἐνεργότατον, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ἔχειν 5 ἐκεῖνο τὸ θέρος καύματα παρηλλαγμένα. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ ὁ τόπος αἴτιος γεγονέναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν της συμφοράς καὶ γὰρ 'Αθηναίοι πρότερον την αὐτὴν ἔχοντες παρεμβολὴν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν ὑπὸ της νόσου, έλώδους όντος τοῦ τόπου καὶ κοίλου. 6 πρώτον μέν πρὶν ήλιον ἀνατεῖλαι διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα την έκ της αύρας των ύδάτων φρίκη κατείχε τὰ σώματα κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἡ θερμότης ἔπνιγεν, ώς αν τοσούτου πλήθους εν στενώ τόπω

συνηθροισμένου.

71. "Ηψατο μὲν οὖν ἡ νόσος πρῶτον τῶν Λιβύων, έξ ὧν πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἔθαπτον τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διά τε τὸ πληθος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς νοσοκομοῦντας ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διαρπάζεσθαι, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα προσιέναι τοῖς κάμνουσιν. παραιρεθείσης οὖν καὶ 2 της θεραπείας άβοήθητος ην ή συμφορά. διὰ γὰρ τήν των ἀθάπτων δυσωδίαν καὶ τήν ἀπὸ των έλων σηπεδόνα πρώτον μεν ήρχετο της νόσου κατάρρους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίνετο περὶ τὸν τράχηλον οἰδήματα· έκ δὲ τοῦ² κατ' ολίγον ἡκολούθουν πυρετοί καὶ περί την ράχιν νεύρων πόνοι και των σκελων βαρύτητες είτ' ἐπεγίνοντο δυσεντερία καὶ φλύκταιναι 3 περί τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὅλην τοῦ σώματος. τοῖς μὲν οθν πλείστοις τοιοθτον ήν τὸ πάθος, τινές δ' είς μανίαν καὶ λήθην τῶν ἀπάντων ἔπιπτον, οι περιπορευόμενοι την παρεμβολήν έξεστωτες του φρονείν έτυπτον τους απαντώντας. καθόλου δε συνέβη καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν βοήθειαν ἄπρακτον εἶναί

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>  $\dot{\eta}$ ] omitted P. Vogel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Eichstädt : τούτου.

causes: that myriads of people were gathered to-896 B.O. gether, that it was the time of the year which is most productive of plagues, and that the particular summer had brought unusually hot weather. It also seems likely that the place itself was responsible for the excessive extent of the disaster; for on a former occasion the Athenians too, who occupied the same camp, had perished in great numbers from the plague, since the terrain was marshy and in a hollow. First, before sunrise, because of the cold from the breeze over the waters, their bodies were struck with chills, but in the middle of the day the heat was stifling, as must be the case when so great a multitude is gathered together in a narrow place.

71. Now the plague first attacked the Libyans, and, as many of them perished, at first they buried the dead, but later, both because of the multitude of corpses and because those who tended the sick were seized by the plague, no one dared approach the suffering.2 When even nursing was thus omitted, there was no remedy for the disaster. For by reason of the stench of the unburied and the miasma from the marshes, the plague began with a catarrh; then came a swelling in the throat; gradually burning sensations ensued, pains in the sinews of the back. and a heavy feeling in the limbs; then dysentery supervened and pustules upon the whole surface of the body. In most cases this was the course of the disease; but some became mad and totally lost their memory; they circulated through the camp, out of their mind, and struck at anyone they met. general, as it turned out, even help by physicians was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 13. 12. <sup>2</sup> Perhaps the text added: "or the dead."

καὶ¹ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πάθους καὶ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ θανάτου· πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐκταῖοι μετήλλαττον, δεινὰς ὑπομένοντες τιμωρίας, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ πάντων μακαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 4 τετελευτηκότας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοῖς κάμνουσι παρεδρεύοντες ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὴν νόσον ἄπαντες, ὥστε δεινὴν εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν τῶν ἀρρωστούντων, μηδενὸς θέλοντος ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἱ μηδὲν προσήκοντες ἀλλήλους ἐγκατέλειπον, ἀλλ' ἀδελφοὶ μὲν ἀδελφούς, φίλοι δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις ἠναγκάζοντο προῖεσθαι διὰ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φόβον.

72. Διονύσιος δ' ἐπειδὴ τὴν περὶ Καρχηδονίους συμφορὰν ἤκουσεν, ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν ναῦς πληρώσας Φαρακίδα καὶ Λεπτίνη τοῖς ναυάρχοις ἐπέταξεν ἄμ' ἡμέρα τὸν ἐπίπλουν ταῖς πολεμίαις ναυσὶ ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸς δ' ἀσελήνου τῆς νυκτὸς οὔσης περιήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ περιελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Κυάνης ἱερὸν ἔλαθε τοὺς πολεμίους ἄμ' ἡμέρα 2 προσιὼν τῆ παρεμβολῆ. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς καὶ μισθοφόρων πεζοὺς χιλίους προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὸ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνατεῖνον μέρος τῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατοπεδείας. οὖτοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ μισθοφόροι τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρὰ πάντας ἀλλοτριώτατοι καὶ πλεονάκις στάσεις² καὶ ταραχὰς ποιοῦντες. 3 διόπερ ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦν παρηγγελκώς, ὅταν ἐξάπτωνται τῶν πολεμίων, φεύγειν

καὶ deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
 So Dindorf: ἀποστάσεις.

of no avail both because of the severity of the disease \$96 B.C. and the swiftness of the death; for death came on the fifth day or on the sixth at the latest, amidst such terrible tortures that all looked upon those who had fallen in the war as blessed. In fact all who watched beside the sick were struck by the plague, and thus the lot of the ill was miserable, since no one was willing to minister to the unfortunate. For not only did any not akin abandon one another, but even brothers were forced to desert brothers, friends to sacrifice friends out of fear for their own lives.<sup>1</sup>

72. When Dionysius heard of the disaster that had struck the Carthaginians, he manned eighty ships and ordered Pharacidas and Leptines the admirals to attack the enemy's ships at daybreak, while he himself, profiting by a moonless night, made a circuit with his army and, passing by the temple of Cyanê,2 arrived near the camp of the enemy at daybreak before they were aware of it. The cavalry and a thousand infantry from the mercenaries were dispatched in advance against that part of the Carthaginian encampment which extended toward the interior. These mercenaries were the most hostile. beyond all others, to Dionysius and had engaged time and again in factional quarrels and uproars. Consequently Dionysius had issued orders to the cavalry that as soon as they came to blows with the enemy they should flee and leave the mercenaries

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 5. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hans Zinsser (Rats, Lice and History, pp. 124-127) thinks that this plague was "the severe, confluent type of smallpox in which death on the fifth or sixth day is not exceptional," despite the fact that there is almost general agreement among scholars that smallpox was not known in the Greek and Roman classical period.

καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐγκαταλιπεῖν ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθεν οδτοι μεν απαντες κατεκόπησαν, δ δὲ Διονύσιος ἄμα τήν τε παρεμβολήν καὶ τὰ φρούρια πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καταπεπληγμένων καὶ παραβοηθούντων τεταραγμένως, αὐτὸς μὲν φρούριον την καλουμένην Πολίχναν είλε κατά κράτος, έκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους οί ἱππεῖς καί τινες τῶν τριήρων προσπλεύσασαι τὸ πρὸς τῷ Δάσκωνι χω-4 ρίον έξεπολιόρκησαν. εὐθύ δ' αι τε ναῦς ἄπασαι τον επίπλουν εποιήσαντο, και κατά τάς των φρουρίων άλώσεις ἐπαλαλάξαντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου περιδεείς οι βάρβαροι καθειστήκεισαν. έξ άρχης μεν γαρ επί το πεζον στράτευμα πάντες συνέδραμον, άμυνόμενοι τους την παρεμβολήν πολιορκουντας ως δε και τον των νεών επίπλουν είδον, πάλιν έξεβοήθουν έπὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον καταταχούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξύτητος τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν έαυ-5 τῶν σπουδὴν εἶχον ἄπρακτον. ἔτι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀναβαινόντων ἐπὶ τὰ καταστρώματα καὶ πληρούντων τὰς τριήρεις, αί πολέμιαι ναῦς ταῖς εἰρεσίαις έλαυνόμεναι πλαγίαις ενέσειον πολλάκις.<sup>2</sup> εκ μεν οὖν μιᾶς ἐπικαίρου πληγῆς κατέδυον τὰς τιτρωσκομένας ναῦς αἱ δὲ πλείοσιν ἐμβολαῖς ἀναρρήττουσαι τὰς συγγεγομφωμένας σανίδας δεινήν 6 έκπληξιν τοις άντιταττομένοις παρείχοντο. πάντη δὲ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων νεῶν θραυομένων, αἱ μὲν έκ τῶν ἐμβολῶν ἀναρρηττόμεναι λακίδες ἐξαίσιον ἐποιοῦντο ψόφον, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν μάχην παρήκων αίγιαλὸς ἔγεμε νεκρῶν.

73. Οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τῷ προτερήματι συμφιλοτιμούμενοι κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἀλλήλους ἔφθανον

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in the lurch: when this order had been carried out 896 B.C. and the mercenaries had been slain to a man, Dionysius set about laying siege to both the camp and the While the barbarians were still dismaved at the unexpected attack and bringing up reinforcements in disorderly fashion, he on his part took by storm the fort known as Polichna; and on the opposite side the cavalry, aided in an attack by some of the triremes, stormed the area around Dascon. At once all the warships joined in the attack, and when the army raised the war-cry at the taking of the forts, the barbarians were in a state of panic. For at the outset they had rushed in a body against the land troops in order to ward off the assailants of the camp: but when they saw the fleet also coming up to attack, they turned back to give help to the naval station. The swift course of events, however, outstripped them and their haste was without result. For even as they were mounting the decks and manning the triremes, the enemy's vessels, driven on by rowers, struck the ships athwart in many cases. Now one well-delivered blow would sink a damaged ship; but blows in repeated rammings, which broke through the nailed timbers, struck terrible dismay into the opponents. Since all about the mightiest ships were being shattered, the rending of the vessels by the crushing blows raised a great noise and the shore extending along the scene of the battle was strewn with corpses.

73. The Syracusans, eagerly co-operating in their success, rivalled one another in great zeal to be the

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ after ἀμυνόμενοι deleted by Wesseling.
2 πολλάκις Post: μόγις.

έπιπηδώντες ταις πολεμίαις ναυσί, και τους βαρβάρους καταπεπληγμένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περι-2 στάσεως περιχυθέντες εφόνευον. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' οί πεζή τῶ ναυστάθμω προσβάλλοντες έλείποντο τής τούτων σπουδής έν οίς συνέβαινεν είναι καὶ αὐτὸν τον Διονύσιον, παριππευκότα προς το κατά Δάσκωνα μέρος. ευρόντες γάρ πεντηκοντόρους τετταράκοντα νενεωλκημένας, καὶ κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ναθς παρορμούσας όλκάδας καί τινας των τριήρων, 3 πῦρ εἰς αὐτὰς ἐνῆκαν. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς εἰς ύψος ἀρθείσης καὶ χεομένης ἐπὶ πολύν τόπον έφλέγετο τὰ σκάφη, καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τε καὶ ναυκλήρων οὐδεὶς έδύνατο παραβοηθήσαι διὰ τὸ πληθος του πυρός. ἐπιγενομένου δὲ¹ μεγάλου πνεύματος έκ των νενεωλκημένων σκαφων εφέρετο 4 τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰς δρμούσας ὁλκάδας. τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν έκκολυμβώντων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πνιγὸς φόβον, καὶ τῶν ἀγκυρίων ἀποκαιομένων, διὰ τὸν κλύδωνα συνέκρουον αί ναῦς, καὶ τινὲς μὲν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων συντριβόμεναι διεφθείροντο, τινές δε ύπο τοῦ πνεύματος ώθούμεναι, αί πλείσται δ' ύπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς 5 ἀπώλλυντο. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν φορτηγῶν πλοίων ἀναφερομένης της φλογός διὰ τῶν ἱστίων<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὰς κεραίας καταφλεγούσης, τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως θεατρικήν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι την θέαν καὶ τοῖς δι' ἀσέβειαν κεραυνωθεῖσι φαίνεσθαι παραπλησίαν την ἀπώλειαν τῶν βαρβάρων.

74. Διόπερ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι μετεωριζόμενοι τὰ πορθμεῖα συνεπλήρουν οἴ τε πρεσβύτατοι τῶν παί-

first to board the enemy's ships, and surrounding the 896 B.C. barbarians, who were terror-stricken at the magnitude of the peril they faced, put them to death. Nor did the infantry who were attacking the naval station show less zeal than the others, and among them, it so happened, was Dionysius himself, who had ridden on horseback to the section about Dascon. Finding there forty ships of fifty oars, which had been drawn up on the beach, and beside them merchant ships and some triremes at anchor, they set fire to them. Quickly the flame leaped up into the sky and, spreading over a large area, caught the shipping, and none of the merchants or owners was able to bring any help because of the violence of the blaze. Since a strong wind arose, the fire was carried from the ships drawn up on land to the merchantmen lying at anchor. When the crews dived into the water from fear of suffocation and the anchor cables were burnt off, the ships came into collision because of the rough seas, some of them being destroyed as they struck one another, and others as the wind drove them about, but the majority of them were victims of the fire. Thereupon, as the flames swept up through the sails of the merchant-ships and consumed the yard-arms, the sight was like a scene from the theatre to the inhabitants of the city and the destruction of the barbarians resembled that of men struck by lightning from heaven for their impiety.

74. Forthwith, elated by the Syracusan successes, both the oldest youths and such aged men as were

<sup>1</sup> δè added by Stephanus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> πνιγός Eichstädt, πνιγής Reiske, Vogel, φλογός Wesseling: 3 ai added by Reiske. πληγής.
<sup>4</sup> So Wesseling: πλείστον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> So Wurm : ἱστῶν.

δων καὶ τῶν παρηκμακότων ταῖς ἡλικίαις οἱ μὴ τελείως ὑπὸ τοῦ γήρως καταπονούμενοι πρὸς δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὸν λιμένα ναῦς ὡς ἔτυχε προσπλέοντες άθρόοι τὰς μὲν προδιεφθαρμένας ὑπό τοῦ πυρὸς διήρπαζον, ἐκλέγοντες τῶν χρησίμων τὰ δυνάμενα βοηθείας τυχεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀκεραίους ἐξαπτόμενοι 2 κατῆγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτως οὐδὲ οἱ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον αφιέμενοι δια τας ήλικίας καρτερείν έδύναντο, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς χαρᾶς ἡ φιλοτιμία της ψυχης κατίσχυε την ήλικίαν. τοῦ δὲ περί την νίκην λόγου διαρρυέντος κατά την πόλιν, τάς οἰκίας έξέλειπον όμου τοις οικέταις παίδες και γυναίκες, καὶ πάντων σπευδόντων ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη πᾶς τόπος 3 έγεμε των θεωμένων, τούτων δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ουρανον τὰς χείρας ἐκτείναντες εὐχαρίστουν τοῖς θεοίς, οί δὲ τῆς τῶν ίερῶν συλήσεως ἔφασαν είληφέναι τοὺς βαρβάρους τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δαιμονίου 4 τιμωρίαν. ἐφαίνετο γὰρ διὰ μακροῦ θεομαχία παραπλήσιος ή θέα, τοσούτων μεν νεών πυρπολουμένων, της δε φλογός διὰ τῶν ἱστίων εἰς ὕψος άναφερομένης, καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων καθ' ἔκαστον των προτερημάτων επισημαινομένων εξαισίω βοή, των δέ βαρβάρων διὰ τὴν ἔκπληξιν τοῦ δεινοῦ πολύν θόρυβον και κραυγήν σύμμικτον ποιούντων. 5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἡ μάχη διελύθη, καὶ Διονύσιος ἐπεστρατοπέδευσε τοῖς βαρβάροις πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν παρεμβολὴν ποιησάμενος.

75. Οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι κατὰ γῆν ἄμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἡττημένοι διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς Διονύσιον λάθρα τῶν Συρακοσίων ἢξίουν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφιέναι τοὺς περιλειπομένους εἰς Λιβύην δια-

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not yet entirely incapacitated by years manned 396 B.C. lighters, and approaching without order all together made for the ships in the harbour. Those which the fire had ruined they plundered, stripping them of anything that could be saved, and such as were undamaged they took in tow and brought to the city. Thus even those who by age were exempt from war duties were unable to restrain themselves, but in their excessive joy their ardent spirit prevailed over their age. When the news of the victory ran through the city, children and women, together with their households, left their homes, everyone hurrying to the walls, and the whole extent was crowded with spectators. Of these some raised their hands to heaven and returned thanks to the gods, and others declared that the barbarians had suffered the punishment of heaven for their plundering of the temples. For from a distance the sight resembled a battle with the gods, such a number of ships going up in fire, the flames leaping aloft among the sails, the Greeks applauding every success with great shouting, and the barbarians in their consternation at the disaster keeping up a great uproar and confused crying. But as night came the battle ceased for the time, and Dionysius kept to the field against the barbarians, pitching a camp near the temple of Zeus.

75. Now that the Carthaginians had suffered defeat on land as well as on sea, they entered into negotiations with Dionysius without the knowledge of the Syracusans. They asked him to allow their remaining troops to cross back to Libya and promised to give

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ἀφιέμενοι] ἀφειμένοι Dindorf.
 <sup>2</sup> So Wurm: κατῆρχε.

κομισθήναι, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολὴν αὐτοῖς 2 όντα τριακόσια τάλαντα δώσειν επηγγέλλοντο. δ δε Διονύσιος απαντας μεν αδύνατον είναι φυγείν ἀπεφαίνετο, τοὺς δὲ¹ πολιτικοὺς συνεχώρησε μόνους νυκτὸς ἀπελθεῖν λάθρα κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδει γὰρ τούς Συρακοσίους και τούς συμμάχους οὐκ ἐπιτρέψοντας αὐτῷ περὶ τούτων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς 3 πολεμίοις. ταθτα δ' ἔπραττεν ό Διονύσιος οὐ βου-λόμενος τελείως ἀπολέσθαι τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμιν, ὅπως οἱ Συρακόσιοι διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτων φόβον μηδέποτε σχολήν λάβωσιν αντέχεσθαι τῆς έλευθερίας. ὁ μεν οὖν Διονύσιος συνθέμενος εἰς ήμέραν τετάρτην ύπο<sup>2</sup> νύκτα την φυγην τοις Καρχηδονίοις, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. 'Ο δ' Ἰμίλκων νυκτὸς παρακομίσας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰ τριακόσια τάλαντα παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐν τῆ Νήσω τεταγμένοις ύπὸ τοῦ τυράννου, αὐτὸς δ', έπει παρήν δ συγκείμενος χρόνος, νυκτός ἐπλήρωσε τετταράκοντα τριήρεις των πολιτικών καὶ καταλιπων το λοιπον απαν στρατόπεδον ωρμησε φεύγειν. 5 ήδη δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν λιμένα διεκπεπλευκότος ήσθοντό τινες των Κορινθίων τον δρασμόν, και ταχέως άπήγγειλαν τῷ Διονυσίω. τοῦ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας τε καλοῦντος εἰς τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν τοὺς ήγεμόνας άθροίζοντος, οὐκ ἀνέμειναν αὐτὸν οί Κορίνθιοι, ταχύ δ' άναχθέντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς εἰρεσίαις φιλοτιμούμενοι τὰς ἐσχάτας Φοινίσσας ναθς κατέλαβον, 6 ας τοῖς ἐμβόλοις συντρίψαντες κατέδυσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταθτα Διονύσιος μεν εξήγαγε την δύναμιν, οί δε him the three hundred talents which they had there 806 B.C. in their camp. Dionysius replied that he would not be able to allow the whole army to escape, but he consented to their citizen troops alone withdrawing secretly at night by sea; for he knew that the Syracusans and their allies would not allow him to make any such terms with the enemy. Dionysius acted as he did to avoid the total destruction of the Carthaginian army, in order that the Syracusans, by reason of their fear of the Carthaginians, should never find a time of ease to assert their freedom. Accordingly Dionysius agreed that the flight of the Carthaginians should take place by night on the fourth day hence and led his army back into the city.

Himilcon during the night conveyed the three hundred talents to the acropolis and delivered them to the persons stationed on the island by the tyrant, and then himself, when the time agreed upon had arrived, manned forty triremes during the night with the citizens of Carthage and began his flight, abandoning all the rest of his army. He had already made his way across the harbour, when some of the Corinthians observed his flight and speedily reported it to Diony-Since Dionysius took his time in calling the soldiers to arms and gathering the commanders, the Corinthians did not wait for him but speedily put out to sea against the Carthaginians, and vying with each other in their rowing they caught up with the last Phoenician ships, which they shattered with their rams and sent to the bottom. After this Dionysius led out the army, but the Siceli, who were serving

<sup>1</sup> Καρχηδονίους after δέ deleted by Eichstädt. <sup>2</sup> So Reiske: ἐπί.

<sup>3</sup> τε Dindorf: τότε.

συμμαχοῦντες τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις Σικελοὶ φθάσαντες τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἔφυγον διὰ τῆς μεσογείου καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες διεσώθησαν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. 7 καὶ Διονύσιος μὲν τὰς όδοὺς διαλαβὼν φυλακαῖς ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδείαν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὔσης· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι καταλειφθέντες ὑπό τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Σικελῶν, ἡθύμησαν καὶ 8 καταπλαγέντες ἔφευγον. οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς όδοῖς ταῖς προφυλακαῖς ἐμπίπτοντες συνελαμβάνοντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τὰ ὅπλα ρίπτοῦντες συνήντων, δεόμενοι φείσασθαι τοῦ βίου· μόνοι δὲ Ἰβηρες ἡθροισμένοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο περὶ συμμαχίας. 9 Διονύσιος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τούτους σπεισάμενος κατέταξε τοὺς Ἰβηρας εἰς τοὺς μισθοφόρους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος ἐζώγρησε καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν¹ ἀποσκευὴν ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις διαρπάσαι.

76. Ουτώς μεν ουν τοις Καρχηδονίοις ή τύχη ταχειαν² τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐποίησε, καὶ πασιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδειξεν, ὡς οἱ μειζον τοῦ καθήκοντος ἐπαιρόμενοι ταχέως ἐξελέγχουσι τὴν ιδίαν ἀσθένειαν. 2 ἐκεινοι γὰρ τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν πόλεων³ σχεδὸν ἀπασῶν πλὴν Συρακουσῶν κρατοῦντες, καὶ ταύτην ἀλώσεσθαι προσδοκῶντες, ἐξαίφνης ὑπὲρ τῆς ιδίας πατρίδος ἀγωνιαν ἡναγκάσθησαν, καὶ τοὺς τάφους τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀνατρέψαντες πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας ἐπειδον ἀτάφους διὰ τὸν λοιμὸν σεσωρευμένους, πυρπολήσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκ μεταβολῆς εὐθὺς εἶδον τὸν ἴδιον

λοιπὴν deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
 So Dindorf: τάχιον.
 πόλεων added by Dindorf.

in the army of the Carthaginians, forestalling the 396 B.C. Syracusans, fled through the interior and, almost to a man, made their way in safety to their native homes. Dionysius stationed guards at intervals along the roads and then led his army against the enemy's camp, while it was still night. The barbarians, abandoned as they were by their general, by the Carthaginians, and by the Siceli as well, were dispirited and fled in dismay. Some were taken captive as they fell in with the guards on the roads, but the majority threw down their arms, surrendered themselves, and asked only that their lives be spared. Some Iberians alone massed together with their arms and dispatched a herald to treat about taking service with him. Dionysius made peace with the Iberians and enrolled them in his mercenaries, but the rest of the multitude he made captive and whatever remained of the baggage he turned over to the soldiers to plunder.

76. With such swiftness did Fortune work a change in the affairs of the Carthaginians, and point out to all mankind that those who become elated above due measure quickly give proof of their own weakness. For they who had in their hands practically all the cities of Sicily with the exception of Syracuse and expected its capture, of a sudden were forced to be anxious for their own fatherland; they who overthrew the tombs of the Syracusans gazed upon one hundred and fifty thousand dead lying in heaps and unburied because of the plague; they who wasted with fire the territory of the Syracusans now in their turn saw their own fleet of a sudden go up in flames;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These Iberians turn up later among the troops sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians in 369 s.c. (Book 15. 70; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 20).

στόλον έμπυρισθέντα, είς δὲ τὸν λιμένα πάση τῆ δυνάμει καταπλέοντες ύπερηφάνως, καὶ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις επιδεικνύμενοι τὰς ξαυτών εὐτυχίας, ήγνόουν έαυτούς μέλλοντας νυκτός αποδράσεσθαι καὶ τούς συμμάνους έκδότους καταλιπείν τοίς πολεμίοις. 3 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ ποιησάμενος σκηνὴν μὲν τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερόν, πρόσοδον δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν συληθέντα πλοῦτον, αἰσχρῶς μετ' ολίγων εἰς Καρχηδόνα διέφυγεν, ὅπως μὴ τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τῆ φύσει θάνατον ἀποδούς ἀθώος γένηται τῶν ἀσεβημάτων, άλλ' έν τῆ πατρίδι περιβόητον έχη τὸν βίον 4 ύπὸ πάντων ὀνειδιζόμενος. εἰς τοσοῦτο δ' ἦλθεν άτυχίας, ώστε μετά της εὐτελεστάτης ἐσθητος περιήει τους κατά την πόλιν ναούς κατηγορών της ίδίας ἀσεβείας καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς θεοὺς ἁμαρτημάτων δμολογουμένην διδούς τιμωρίαν τῷ δαιμονίω. τὸ δέ τέλος ξαυτοῦ καταγνούς θάνατον ἀπεκαρτέρησε, πολλήν τοῖς πολίταις ἀπολιπών δεισιδαιμονίαν. εὐθὺ γὰρ καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ή τύχη συνήθροισεν.

77. Της γὰρ συμφορᾶς διακηρυχθείσης κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, οἱ σύμμαχοι καὶ πάλαι μὲν² μισοῦντες τὸ βάρος της τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἡγεμονίας, τότε δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις προδοσίαν πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐξέκαυσαν τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν μῖσος. 2 διόπερ ἄμα μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς προαχθέντες,³ ἄμα δὲ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἀντείχοντο τῆς ἐλευθερίας. διαπρεσβευσάμενοι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἤθροισαν δύναμιν, καὶ προελθόντες ἐν ὑπ-

they who so arrogantly sailed with their whole armada 396 B.C. into the harbour and flaunted their successes before the Syracusans had little thought that they were to steal away by night and leave their allies at the mercy of their enemy. The general himself, who had taken the temple of Zeus for his headquarters and the pillaged wealth of the sanctuaries for his own possession, slipped away in disgrace to Carthage with a few survivors, in order that he might not by dying and paying a debt to nature go unscathed for his acts of impiety, but should in his native land lead a life that was notorious, while reproaches were heaped on him on every hand. Indeed, so calamitous was his lot that he went about the temples of the city in the cheapest clothing, charging himself with impiety and offering acknowledged retribution to heaven for his sins against the gods. In the end he passed sentence of death upon himself and starved himself to death. And he bequeathed to his fellow citizens a deep respect for religion, for straightway Fortune heaped upon them the other calamities of war as well.

77. When the news of the Carthaginian disaster had spread throughout Libya, their allies, who had long hated the oppressive rule of the Carthaginians and even more at this time because of the betrayal of the soldiers at Syracuse, were inflamed against them. Consequently, being led on partly by anger and partly by contempt for them because of the disaster they had suffered, they endeavoured to assert their independence. After exchanging messages with one another they collected an army, moved

μèν τὸ τ. Δ. ἱερὸν Dindorf: ἐν τῷ τ. Δ. ἱερῷ.
 μèν and δὲ below deleted by Vogel.
 So Wesseling: προσαχθέντες.

3 αίθρω κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ταχύ δ' οὐ μόνον έλευθέρων, άλλα και δούλων συντρεχόντων, έν όλίγω χρόνω μυριάδες είκοσι συνηθροίσθησαν. καταλαβόμενοι δε Τύνητα, πόλιν ου μακράν της Καρχηδόνος κειμένην, εκ ταύτης παρετάττοντο, καὶ πλεονεκτοῦντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τειχήρεις τοὺς Φοίνικας 4 συνείχον. οι δε Καρχηδόνιοι φανερώς ύπο τών θεών πολεμούμενοι τὸ μὲν πρώτον κατ' ὀλίγους1 ξυνιόντες έξεταράττοντο καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἱκέτευον ληξαι της ὀργης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν δεισιδαιμονία κατέσχε καὶ δέος, ἐκάστου τον της πόλεως ανδραποδίσμον τη διανοία προλαμβάνοντος. διόπερ εψηφίσαντο παντί τρόπω 5 τους ἀσεβηθέντας θεους εξιλάσασθαι. οὐ παρειληφότες δ' έν τοις ίεροις ούτε Κόρην ούτε Δήμητρα, τούτων ίερεις τους επισημοτάτους των πολιτών κατέστησαν, καὶ μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος τὰς θεὰς ίδρυσάμενοι τὰς θυσίας τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤθεσιν ἐποίουν, καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντων Ἑλλήνων τοὺς χαριεστάτους ἐπιλέξαντες ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν έταξαν. μετά δὲ ταῦτα ναῦς τε κατεσκεύαζον καί τὰ πρός τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελῶς ήτοίμαζον.

Οἱ δ' ἀποστάται μιγάδες ὄντες οὖδ' ἡγεμόνας ἀξιοχρέους εἶχον, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, αὐτοῖς μὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐξέλειπον αἱ τροφαί, τοῖς δὲ Καρχηδονίοις κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ Σαρδοῦς παρεκομίζοντο, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίαζον περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν χρήμασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων διαφθαρέντες ἐγκατέλειπον τὰς κοινὰς ἐλπίδας. ὅθεν διά τε τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τινων προδοσίαν,

forward, and pitched camp in the open. Since they 896 B.C. were speedily joined not only by freemen but also by slaves, there was gathered in a short time a body of two hundred thousand men. Seizing Tynes, a city situated not far from Carthage, they based their line of battle on it, and since they had the better of the fighting, they confined the Phoenicians within their walls. The Carthaginians, against whom the gods were clearly fighting, at first gathered in small groups and in great confusion and besought the deity to put an end to its wrath; thereupon the entire city was seized by superstitious fear and dread, as every man anticipated in imagination the enslavement of the city. Consequently they voted by every means to propitiate the gods who had been sinned against. Since they had included neither Corê nor Demeter in their rites, they appointed their most renowned citizens to be priests of these goddesses, and consecrating statues of them with all solemnity, they conducted their rites, following the ritual used by the Greeks. They also chose out the most prominent Greeks who lived among them and assigned them to the service of the goddesses. After this they constructed ships and made careful provision of supplies for the war.

Meanwhile the revolters, who were a motley mass, possessed no capable commanders, and what was of first importance, they were short of provisions because they were so numerous, while the Carthaginians brought supplies by sea from Sardinia. Furthermore, they quarrelled among themselves over the supreme command and some of them were bought off with Carthaginian money and deserted the common cause. As a result, both because of the lack of provisions and because of treachery on the part of some, they

οὖτοι μὲν διαλυθέντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπήλλαξαν τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου Καρχηδονίους.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Λιβύην ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

78. Διονύσιος δὲ θεωρῶν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἀλλοτριώτατα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντας, καὶ φοβούμενος μὴ διὰ τούτων καταλυθῆ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ᾿Αριστοτέλην 
2 τὸν ἀφηγούμενον αὐτῶν συνέλαβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ πλήθους συντρέχοντος μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς πικρότερον ἀπαιτούντων, τὸν μὲν ᾿Αριστοτέλην ἔφησεν ἀποστέλλειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κρίσιν ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πολίταις ὑφέξοντα, τοῖς δὲ μισθοφόροις ὡς μυρίοις οὖσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔδωκεν ἐν τοῖς μισθοῖς τὴν τῶν Λεοντίνων πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν. ἀσμένως¹ δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὑπακουσάντων διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας, οὖτοι μὲν κατακληρουχήσαντες ὤκουν ἐν Λεοντίνοις, ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ἄλλους μισθοφόρους ξενολογήσας, τούτοις τε καὶ τοῖς ἡλευθερωμένοις οἰκέταις ἐνεπίστευσε τὴν ἀρχήν.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων συμφορὰν οἱ διασωζόμενοι τῶν ἐξηνδραποδισμένων κατὰ Σικελίαν πόλεων ἠθροίζοντο, καὶ τὰς ἰδίας κομιζόμενοι

5 πατρίδας έαυτους ἀνελάμβανον. Διονύσιος δ' εἰς Μεσσήνην κατώκισε χιλίους μὲν Λοκρούς, τετρακισχιλίους δὲ Μεδμαίους, έξακοσίους δὲ τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου Μεσσηνίων, ἔκ τε Ζακύνθου καὶ Ναυπάκτου φευγόντων. θεωρῶν δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προσκόπτοντας ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐκβεβλημένους Μεσσηνίους ἐν ἐπισήμω πόλει κατοικίζεσθαι, μετήγαγεν ἐκ Μεσσήνης αὐτούς, καὶ χωρίον τι παρὰ θάλατταν δοὺς τῆς ᾿Αβακαινίνης χώρας ἀπετέμετο καὶ προσώρισεν ὄσον αὐτὸς μέ-

broke up and scattered to their native lands, thus 396 B.C. relieving the Carthaginians of the greatest fear.

Such was the state of affairs in Libya at this time.

78. Dionysius, seeing that the mercenaries were most hostile to him and fearing that they might depose him, first of all arrested Aristotle, their commander. At this, when the body of them ran together under arms and demanded their pay with some sharpness, Dionysius declared that he was sending Aristotle to Lacedaemon to face trial among his fellow citizens, and offered to the mercenaries, who numbered about ten thousand, in lieu of their pay the city and territory of the Leontines. To this they gladly agreed because the territory was good land, and after portioning it out in allotments they made their home in Leontini. Dionysius then recruited other mercenaries and trusted in them and his freedmen to maintain the government.

After the disaster which the Carthaginians had suffered, the survivors from the cities of Sicily that had been enslaved gathered together, gained back their native lands, and revived their strength. Dionysius settled in Messenê a thousand Locrians, four thousand Medmaeans, and six hundred Messenians from the Peloponnesus who were exiles from Zacynthus and Naupactus. But when he observed that the Lacedaemonians were offended that the Messenians whom they had driven out were settled in a renowned city, he removed them from Messenê, and giving them a place on the sea, he cut off some of the area of Abacaenê and annexed it to their territory.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Medma, a city of Bruttium, founded by the Locrians (Strabo, 6. 1. 5).

6 ρος ἀπετέμετο. οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἀνόμασαν Τυνδαρίδα, πολιτευόμενοι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ¹ πολλοὺς πολιτογραφοῦντες ταχὺ

πλείους πεντακισχιλίων εγένοντο.

7 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τήν τῶν Σικελῶν χώραν πλεονάκις στρατεύσας Μέναινον² μὲν καὶ Μοργαντῖνον εἶλε, πρὸς "Αγυριν δὲ τὸν 'Αγυριναίων τύραννον καὶ Δάμωνα τὸν δυναστεύοντα Κεντοριπίνων, ἔτι δ' Ἑρβιταίους τε καὶ 'Ασσωρίνους συνθήκας ἐποιήσατο· παρέλαβε δὲ διὰ προδοσίας Κεφαλοίδιον καὶ Σολοῦντα καὶ τὴν "Ενναν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πρὸς 'Ερβησσίνους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο."

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

79. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι προορώμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου, τὸν ἔτερον τῶν βασιλέων ᾿Αγησίλαον ἐπέστησαν τοῖς πράγμασιν. οὖτος δ᾽ ἐξακισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἐπιλέξας, τριάκοντα δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον τοὺς ἀρίστους κατατάξας, διεβίβασε τὴν⁴ 2 δύναμιν ἐκ⁵ τῆς Αὐλίδος⁶ εἰς Ἦφεσον. ἐκεῖ δὲ στρατολογήσας τετρακισχιλίους, προήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ὕπαιθρον, οὖσαν πεζῶν μὲν μυρίων, ἱππέων δὲ τετρακοσίων ἢκολούθει δ᾽ ἀγοραῖος αὐτοῖς ὅχλος καὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς χάριν οὐκ ἐλάττων τοῦ προειρημένου. διεξιὼν δὲ τὸ Καΰστριον πεδίον, διέφθειρε τὴν χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τοὺς Πέρσας οὖσαν,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ added by Dindorf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ἐκ deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.

<sup>6</sup> Aὐλίδοs suggested by Vogel (Xen. Hell. 3. 4. 3), 'Aσίas PAH, Εὐρώπης cet.

The Messenians named their city Tyndaris, and by 396 B.C. living in concord together and admitting many to citizenship, they speedily came to number more than five thousand citizens.

After this Dionysius waged a number of campaigns against the territory of the Siceli, in the course of which he took Menaenum and Morgantinum and struck a treaty with Agyris, the tyrant of the Agyrinaeans, and Damon, the lord of the Centoripans, as well as with the Herbitaeans and the Assorini. He also gained by treachery Cephaloedium, Solûs, and Enna, and made peace besides with the Herbessini.

Such was the state of affairs in Sicily at this time.

79.¹ In Greece the Lacedaemonians, foreseeing how great their war with the Persians would be, put one of the two kings, Agesilaüs, in command. After he had levied six thousand soldiers and constituted a council of thirty of his foremost fellow citizens,² he transported the armament from Aulis ³ to Ephesus. Here he enlisted four thousand soldiers and took the field with his army, which numbered ten thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry. They were also accompanied by a throng of no less number which provided a market and was intent upon plunder. He traversed the Plain of Cayster and laid waste the territory held by the Persians until he arrived at

<sup>1</sup> The narrative is resumed from chapter 39.

<sup>2</sup> Obviously a staff of administrators for him to use in important posts in the conduct of the war, as is clear, e.g.,

from Xenophon, Hell. 3. 4. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Agesilaüs fancies himself a second Agamemnon, leading the Greeks in a new Trojan War, and would repeat Agamemnon's farewell sacrifices at Aulis. See Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 6. 4-6; Xenophon, *Hell*. 3. 4. 3: 5. 5.

μέχρι ὅτου κατήντησεν εἰς Κύμην. ἐκεῖθεν δ' όρμηθεὶς τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ θέρους τήν τε Φρυγίαν καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ διετέλεσε πορθῶν, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐμπλῆσας ἀφελείας ὑπὸ τὸ φθινόπωρον ἀνέκαμψεν

είς "Εφεσον.

Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Νεφερέα τὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα περί συμμαχίας, δε άντι της βοηθείας έδωρήσατο σκευήν τοις Σπαρτιάταις έκατὸν τριήρεσι σίτου δὲ μυριάδας πεντήκοντα. Φάραξ δὲ ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχος ἀναχθεὶς ἐκ 'Ρόδου ναυοὶν έκατὸν εἴκοσι κατέπλευσε τῆς Καρίας πρὸς Σάσανδα, φρούριον ἀπέχον της Καύνου σταδίους 5 έκατον πεντήκοντα. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ δρμώμενος ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Καῦνον καὶ Κόνωνα μὲν τὸν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα, διατρίβοντα δ' ἐν Καύνω μετὰ νεῶν τεσσαράκοντα. 'Αρταφέρνους δὲ καὶ Φαρναβάζου μετὰ πολλης δυνάμεως παραβοηθήσαντος τοῖς Καυνίοις δ Φάραξ ἔλυσε την πολιορκίαν καὶ μετά τοῦ στόλου παντός 6 ἀπῆρεν¹ εἰς Ῥόδον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων μὲν άθροίσας ογδοήκοντα τριήρεις έπλευσεν είς Χέρρόνησον, 'Ρόδιοι δ' ἐκβαλόντες τὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων στόλον ἀπέστησαν ἀπό Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τον Κόνωνα προσεδέξαντο μετά τοῦ στόλου παντός 7 είς τὴν πόλιν. οί δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν δωρηθέντα σιτον κατακομίζοντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι την απόστασιν των 'Ροδίων αγνοοῦντες τεθαρρηκότες προσέπλεον τῆ νήσω. 'Ρόδιοι δὲ καὶ Κόνων ὁ τῶν Περσών ναύαρχος καταγαγόντες τὰς ναθς εἰς τοὺς 8 λιμένας ἐπλήρωσαν σίτου τὴν πόλιν. παρεγενήθήσαν δὲ τῶ Κόνωνι τριήρεις ἐνενήκοντα, δέκα μὲν 226

Cymê. From this as his base he spent the larger part 306 B.C. of the summer ravaging Phrygia and neighbouring territory; and after sating his army with pillage he returned toward the beginning of autumn to Ephesus.

While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians dispatched ambassadors to Nephereus,1 the king of Egypt, to conclude an alliance; he, in place of the aid requested, made the Spartans a gift of equipment for one hundred triremes and five hundred thousand measures of grain. Pharax, the Lacedaemonian admiral, sailing from Rhodes with one hundred and twenty ships, put in at Sasanda in Caria, a fortress one hundred and fifty stades from Caunus. From this as his base he laid siege to Caunus and blockaded Conon, who was commander of the King's fleet and lay at Caunus with forty ships. But when Artaphernes and Pharnabazus came with strong forces to the aid of the Caunians, Pharax lifted the siege and sailed off to Rhodes with the entire fleet. After this Conon gathered eighty triremes and sailed to the Chersonesus, and the Rhodians, having expelled the Peloponnesian fleet, revolted from the Lacedaemonians 2 and received Conon, together with his entire fleet, into their city. Now the Lacedaemonians, who were bringing the gift of grain from Egypt, being unaware of the defection of the Rhodians, approached the island in full confidence; but the Rhodians and Conon, the Persian admiral, brought the ships into the harbours and stored the city with grain. There also came to Conon ninety triremes, ten of them from

<sup>1</sup> Manetho calls him Nepherites.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pausanias (6. 7. 6) states that they were persuaded to do so by Conon.

So Dindorf, ἀπῆγγεν Ρ, ἀπῆγεν cet.

άπὸ Κιλικίας, ὀγδοήκοντα δ' ἀπὸ Φοινίκης, ὧν ὁ

Σιδωνίων δυνάστης είχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. 80. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ᾿Αγησίλαος μὲν ἐξαγαγὼν την δύναμιν είς τὸ Καΰστρου πεδίον καὶ την περὶ Σίπυλον χώραν, έδήωσε τὰς τῶν ἐγχωρίων κτήσεις. Τισσαφέρνης δε μυρίους μεν ίππεις πεντακισμυρίους δὲ πεζούς ἀθροίσας ἐπηκολούθει τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις και τους αποσπωμένους τῆς τάξεως ἐν ταις προνομαις ἀνήρει. 'Αγησίλαος δὲ εἰς πλινθίον συντάξας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀντείχετο τῆς παρὰ τὸν Σίπυλον παρωρείας, ἐπιτηρῶν καιρὸν εἴθετον εἰς 2 την των πολεμίων ἐπίθεσιν. ἐπελθών δὲ την χώραν μέχρι Σάρδεων ἔφθειρε τούς τε κήπους καὶ τὸν παράδεισον τὸν Τισσαφέρνους, φυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς άλλοις πολυτελώς πεφιλοτεχνημένον είς τρυφὴν καὶ την εν ειρήνη των άγαθων άπόλαυσιν. μετά δε ταῦτ' ἐπιστρέψας, ὡς ἀνὰ μέσον ἐγενήθη τῶν τε Σάρδεων καὶ Θυβάρνων, ἀπέστειλε Ξενοκλέα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην μετά χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων στρατιωτων νυκτός έις τινα δασύν τόπον, ὅπως ἐνέδρεύση 3 τους βαρβάρους. αὐτὸς δ' ἄμ' ἡμέρα πορευόμενος μετά της δυνάμεως, έπειδη την μεν ενέδραν παρήλλαξεν, οι δε βάρβαροι προσπίπτοντες ατάκτως τοις ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐξήπτοντο, παραδόξως ἐξαίφνης επέστρεψεν επί τους Πέρσας. γενομένης δε καρτερᾶς μάχης, καὶ τοῦ συσσήμου τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ένέδραν οὖσιν ἀρθέντος, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν παιανίσαντες επεφέροντο τοις πολεμίοις, οι δε Πέρσαι θεωροῦντες αύτους ἀπολαμβανομένους εἰς μέσον κατεπλά-4 γησαν καὶ παραχρημα ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Αγησίλαον μέχρι μέν τινος ἐπιδιώξαντες ἀνείλαν μεν ύπερ τους έξακισχιλίους, αίγμαλώτων δε πολύ 228

Cilicia and eighty from Phoenicia, under the command 306 B.C. of the lord of the Sidonians.

80. After this Agesilaüs led forth his army into the Plain of Cayster and the country around Sipylus and ravaged the possessions of the inhabitants. Tissaphernes, gathering ten thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry, followed close on the Lacedaemonians and cut down any who became separated from the main body while plundering. Agesilaüs formed his soldiers in a square and clung to the foothills of Mt. Sipylus, awaiting a favourable opportunity to attack the enemy. He overran the countryside as far as Sardis and ravaged the orchards and the pleasure-park belonging to Tissaphernes, which had been artistically laid out at great expense with plants and all other things that contribute to luxury and the enjoyment in peace of the good things of life. then turned back, and when he was midway between Sardis and Thybarnae, he dispatched by night the Spartan Xenocles with fourteen hundred soldiers to a thickly wooded place to set an ambush for the barbarians. Then Agesilaüs himself moved at daybreak along the way with his army. And when he had passed the place of ambush and the barbarians were advancing upon him without battle order and harassing his rearguard, to their surprise he suddenly turned about on the Persians. When a sharp battle followed, he raised the signal to the soldiers in ambush and they, chanting the battle song, charged the enemy. The Persians, seeing that they were caught between the forces, were struck with dismay and turned at once in flight. Pursuing them for some distance, Agesilaüs slew over six thousand of them,

<sup>1</sup> So Wesseling: παρωρίας.

πλήθος ήθροισαν, τήν δὲ παρεμβολήν διήρπασαν, 5 γέμουσαν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης Τισσαφέρνης μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις ἀπεχώρησε καταπεπληγμένος τὴν τόλμαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, 'Αγησίλαος δ' ἐπεχείρησε μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς οὐ δυνάμενος καλλιερῆσαι

πάλιν ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. 'Αρταξέρξης δὲ ὁ τῆς 'Ασίας βασιλεὺς τά τε έλαττώματα πυθόμενος καὶ κατορρωδών τὸν πρὸς τοὺς "Ελληνας πόλεμον, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην. τοῦτον γὰρ αἴτιον τοῦ πολέμου γεγονέναι ύπελάμβανε καὶ ύπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Παρυσάτιδος ήν ηξιωμένος τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην· είχε γὰρ αὕτη διαφόρως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ διαβεβληκέναι τὸν υίὸν αὐτῆς Κῦρον, ὅτε Τ την έπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν στρατείαν ἐποιεῖτο. καταστήσας οὖν Τιθραύστην ἡγεμόνα, τούτω μὲν παρήγγειλε συλλαμβάνειν Τισσαφέρνην, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τούς σατράπας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς ὅπως¹ πάν-8 τες τούτω ποιώσι το προσταττόμενον. δ δὲ Τιθραύστης παραγενόμενος είς Κολοσσάς τῆς Φρυνίας συνέλαβε τον Τισσαφέρνην διά τινος 'Αριαίου' σατράπου λουόμενον, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψας απέστειλε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν 'Αγησίλαον πείσας είς λόγους έλθεῖν έξαμηνιαίους ἀνοχὰς έποιήσατο.

81. Τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ασίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διῳκημένων, Φωκεῖς πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς ἔκ τινων ἐγκλημάτων εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντες ἔπεισαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχεῖν κατὰ τῶν Βοιωτῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν Λύσανδρον μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγων, ὃς εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν

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gathered a great multitude of prisoners, and pillaged 306 B.C. their camp which was stored with goods of many sorts. Tissaphernes, thunderstruck at the daring of the Lacedaemonians, withdrew from the battle to Sardis, and Agesilaüs was about to attack the satrapies farther inland, but led his army back to the sea when he could not obtain favourable omens from the sacrifices.

When Artaxerxes, the King of Asia, learned of the defeats, being alarmed by the war with the Greeks, he was angry at Tissaphernes, since he considered him to be responsible for the war. He had also been asked by his mother, Parysatis, to grant her revenge upon Tissaphernes, for she hated him for denouncing her son Cyrus, when he made his attack upon his brother. Accordingly Artaxerxes appointed Tithraustes commander with orders to arrest Tissaphernes and sent letters to the cities and the satraps that all should perform whatever he commanded. Tithraustes, on arriving at Colossae in Phrygia, with the aid of Ariaeus, a satrap, arrested Tissaphernes while he was in the bath, cut off his head, and sent it to the King. Then he persuaded Agesilaüs to enter into negotiations and concluded with him a truce of six months.

81. While affairs in Asia were handled as we have described, the Phocians went to war with the Boeotians because of certain grievances and persuaded the Lacedaemonians to join them against the Boeotians. At first they sent Lysander to them with a few

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chaps. 19 ff.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> äν after ὅπως deleted by Dindorf.
 <sup>2</sup> 'Αριαίου Palmer: Λαρισσαίου.

Φωκίδα συνήγαγε δύναμιν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξεπέμφθη μετὰ στρατιωτῶν έξακισχιλίων. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ πείσαντες ᾿Αθηναίους συνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, τότε μὲν καθ' αὐτοὺς ὥρμησαν καὶ κατέλαβον ဪαίαρτον ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου καὶ Φωκέων πολιορκουμένην. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ὅ τε Λύσανδρος ἔπεσε καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πολλοί, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν ἡ μὲν ὅλη φάλαγξ ταχέως ἐπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ, τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ὡς διακόσιοι προχειρότερον εἰς τόπους τραχεῖς ἑαυτοὺς δόντες ἀνηρέθησαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πόλεμος οὖτος ἐκλήθη Βοιωτικός, Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος τὴν ἦτταν ἀνοχὰς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀπήγαγε πρὸς Πελοπόννησον.

4 Κόνων δ' ό τῶν Περσῶν ναύαρχος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ στόλου κατέστησεν Ἱερώνυμον καὶ Νικόδημον 'Αθηναίους ὄντας, αὐτὸς δὲ σπεύδων ἐντυχεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Θάψακον τῆς Συρίας πορευθεὶς ἀνὰ¹ τὸν Εὐφράτην 5 ποταμὸν ἔπλευσεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα. ἐκεῖ δ' ἐντυχὼν

τῷ βασιλεῖ καταναυμαχήσειν ἐπηγγείλατο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἂν αὐτῷ χρήματα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἐτοιμάση κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν.

6 δ δ' Αρταξέρξης ἔπαινέσας αὐτὸν καὶ δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις τιμήσας, συνέστησε ταμίαν τὸν χορηγήσοντα χρημάτων πληθος ὅσον ἂν προστάττη Κόνων, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον συνηγησόμενον ὃν ἂν προαιρηται Περσῶν. Κόνων μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον έλόμενος τὸν σατράπην

1 ἀνὰ] κατὰ Hertlein.

soldiers, who, on entering Phocis, gathered an army; 306 B.C. but later the king, Pausanias, was dispatched there with six thousand soldiers. The Boeotians persuaded the Athenians to take part with them in the war, but at the time they took the field alone and found Haliartus under siege by Lysander and the Phocians. In the battle which followed Lysander fell together with many Lacedaemonians and their allies. The entire body of other Boeotians speedily turned back from the pursuit, but some two hundred Thebans advanced rather rashly into rugged terrain and were slain. This was called the Boeotian War. Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, on learning of the defeat, concluded a truce 1 with the Boeotians and led his army back to the Peloponnesus.

Conon, the admiral of the Persians, put the Athenians Hieronymus and Nicodemus in charge of the fleet and himself set forth with intent to interview the King. He sailed along the coast of Cilicia, and when he had gone on to Thapsacus in Syria, he then took boat by the Euphrates river to Babylon. Here he met the King and promised that he would destroy the Lacedaemonians' naval power if the King would furnish him with such money and other supplies as his plan required. Artaxerxes approved Conon, honoured him with rich gifts, and appointed a paymaster who should supply funds in abundance as Conon might assign them. He also gave him authority to take as his associate leader for the war any Persian he might choose. Conon selected the satrap

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In order to recover the body of Lysander (Plutarch, Lysander, 29).

κατέβαινεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ἄπαντα διωκηκώς

κατά την έαυτοῦ διάνοιαν.

82. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν την άρχην έλαβε Διόφαντος, εν 'Ρώμη δ' άντι τῶν ὑπάτων εξ χιλίαρχοι τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διώ-κουν, Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος, Μάρκος Φούριος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Κόιντος Σουλπίκιος. τούτων δέ την άρχην παρειληφότων Βοιωτοί και 'Αθηναίοι. προς δέ τούτοις Κορίνθιοι και 'Αργεῖοι, συμμαχίαν 2 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐποιήσαντο. μισουμένων γὰρ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ύπο των συμμάχων δια το βάρος της επιστασίας, " ὤοντο ραδίως καταλύσειν αὐτῶν την ηγεμονίαν, τας μεγίστας πόλεις συμφρονούσας έχοντες. και πρώτον μέν συνέδριον κοινόν έν τη Κορίνθω συστησάμενοι τους βουλευσομένους επεμπον καὶ κοινῶς διώκουν τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρέσβεις εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἀποστέλλοντες πολλούς συμμάχους ἀπό Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέστησαν. 3 εὐθὺ γὰρ αὖτοῖς ἥ τε Εὔβοια ἄπασα προσέθετο καὶ Λευκάδιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ᾿Ακαρνᾶνές τε καὶ ᾿Αμβρακιῶται καὶ Χαλκιδεῖς οἱ πρὸς τῆ Θράκη.

4 ἐπεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσω κατοικοῦντας πείθειν ἀποστῆναι Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐδεὶς δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπήκουσεν· ἡ γὰρ Σπάρτη κατὰ τὰ πλευρὰ κειμένη καθαπερεί τις ἀκρόπολις ἦν καὶ

φρουρά πάσης Πελοποννήσου.

5 Μηδίου δὲ τοῦ τῆς Λαρίσσης τῆς ἐν Θετταλία δυναστεύοντος διαπολεμοῦντος πρὸς Λυκόφρονα τὸν Φερῶν τύραννον, καὶ δεομένου πέμψαι βοήθειαν,

So Reiske: δύναμιν.
 So Dindorf: ἐπιστάσεως.
 So Wesseling: βουλομένους.

Pharnabazus and then returned to the sea, having 306 n.c.

arranged everything to suit his purpose.

82. At the close of this year, in Athens Diophantus 395 B.C. entered upon the archonship, and in Rome, in place of consuls, the consular magistracy was exercised by six military tribunes, Lucius Valerius, Marcus Furius, Quintus Šervilius, and Quintus Sulpicius. After these men had assumed their magistracies the Bocotians and Athenians, together with the Corinthians and the Argives, concluded an alliance with each other. It was their thought that, since the Lacedaemonians were hated by their allies because of their harsh rule, it would be an easy matter to overthrow their supremacy, given that the strongest states were of one mind. First of all, they set up a common Council in Corinth to which they sent representatives to form plans, and worked out in common the arrangements for the war. Then they dispatched ambassadors to the cities and caused many allies of the Lacedaemonians to withdraw from them; for at once all of Euboea and the Leucadians joined them, as well as the Acarnanians, Ambraciots, and the Chalcidians of Thrace. They also attempted to persuade the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, but no one listened to them; for Sparta, lying as it does along the side of it, was a kind of citadel and fortress of the entire

Medius, the lord of Larissa in Thessaly, was at war with Lycophron, the tyrant of Pherae, and when he asked for aid to be sent him, the Council dispatched

Peloponnesus.

Livy (5. 14. 5) adds M. Valerius and L. Furius.

<sup>4</sup> κατὰ τὰ πλευρὰ Dindorf, Bekker, κατάπλευρ P, κατὰ πλευρὰν Vogel.

ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ τὸ συνέδριον στρατιώτας δισχι-6 λίους ο δε Μήδιος της συμμαχίας αὐτῷ παραγενομένης Φάρσαλον είλεν ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρουμένην καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῆ κατοικοῦντας έλαφυροπώλησεν. μετά δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετ' 'Αργείων 'Ηράκλειαν την έν Τραχινι κατελάβοντο, χωρισθέντες ἀπὸ Μηδίου καὶ νυκτὸς ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ὑπό τινων εἰσαχθέντες Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν τούς καταληφθέντας ἀπέσφαξαν, τούς δ' ἀπό Πε-7 λοποννήσου τὰ σφῶν ἔχοντας εἴασαν ἀπελθεῖν. εἰς δε την πόλιν τους Τραχινίους φεύγοντας έκ των πατοίδων ύπο Λακεδαιμονίων μεταπεμπόμενοι, τούτοις έδωκαν την πόλιν οἰκεῖν, οἱ καὶ παλαιότατοι της χώρας ταύτης ήσαν οἰκήτορες. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ό τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀφηγούμενος Ἰσμηνίας τοὺς μὲν 'Αργείους εν τῆ πόλει κατέλιπε φυλακῆς ενεκα, αὐτὸς δὲ πείσας ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ ᾿Αθαμᾶνας ἤθροισε παρά τε τούτων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιώτας τοὺς πάντας δ' έχων μικρον ἀπολείποντας τῶν έξακισχιλίων ἐστρά-8 τευσεν είς Φωκείς. καταστρατοπεδεύοντος δ' αὐτοῦ εἰς Νάρυκα τῆς Λοκρίδος, ἐξ ἦς φασι τὸν Αἴαντα γεγενησθαι, τὸ πληθος τῶν Φωκέων ἀπήντησε μετά τῶν ὅπλων, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος 9 'Αλκισθένους τοῦ Λάκωνος. γενομένης δὲ μάχης έπὶ πολύν χρόνον ἰσχυρᾶς ἐκράτησαν οί Βοιωτοί, καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς διώξαντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνεῖλον οὐ πολύ λείποντας τῶν χιλίων, τῶν δ' ἰδίων ἀπέβα-10 λον ἐν τῆ μάχη περὶ πεντακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ τὴν παράταξιν αμφότεροι μεν διέλυσαν το στρατόto him two thousand soldiers. After the troops 395 B.C. had arrived Medius seized Pharsalus, in which there was a garrison of Lacedaemonians, and sold the inhabitants as booty. After this the Boeotians and Argives, parting company with Medius, seized Heracleia in Trachis; and on being admitted at night within the walls by certain persons, they put to the sword the Lacedaemonians whom they seized but allowed the other Peloponnesians to leave with their possessions. They then summoned to the city the Trachinians whom the Lacedaemonians had banished from their homes,1 and gave them the city as their dwelling place; and indeed they were the most ancient settlers of this territory. After this Ismenias, the leader of the Boeotians, left the Argives in the city to serve as its garrison and himself persuaded the Aenianians and the Athamanians to revolt from the Lacedaemonians and gathered soldiers from among them and their allies. After he had recruited a little less than six thousand men, he took the field against the Phocians. While he was taking up quarters in Naryx in Locris, which men say was the birthplace of Ajax, the people of the Phocians came against him in arms under the command of Alcisthenes the Laconian. A sharp and protracted battle followed, in which the Boeotians were the victors. Pursuing the fugitives until nightfall, they slew not many less than a thousand, but lost of their own troops in the battle about five hundred. After the pitched battle both sides dismissed their armies to

<sup>1</sup> See chap. 38. 4-5.

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφότεροι μὲν διέλυσαν τ. σ. εἰs Vogel: ἀμφότεροι διαλύσαντες τ. σ. οἱ μὲν εἰς.

πεδον είς τὰς ίδίας πατρίδας οι δ' είς Κόρινθον τὸ συνέδριον ἀγαγόντες, ἐπεὶ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς προεχώρει τὰ πράγματα, συνήγαγον ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας εἰς Κόρινθον, πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ πεντακοσίους.

ρίων πεντακισχιλίων, ίππεις δὲ περὶ πεντακοσίους.

83. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' όρῶντες τὰς μεγίστας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς συνισταμένας, ἐψηφίσαντο τόν τε 'Αγησίλαον ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν τοσούτῳ παρά τε σφῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντες πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους τρισχιλίους, ἱππεις δὲ πεντακοσίους, ἀπήντησαν τοις πολεμίοις. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως παρὰ τὸν Νεμέαν ποταμὸν μέχρι νυκτός, ἑκατέρων προτετέρησε τὰ μέρη τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἔπεσον ἐκατὸν πρὸς τοις χιλίοις, Βοιωτῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων περὶ δισχιλίους ὀκτακοσίους.

3 'Αγησίλαος δε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας διαβιβάσας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Θρακῶν τινων ἀπαντησάντων αὐτῷ πολλῷ στρατιᾳ,' μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνεῖλε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διὰ Μακεδονίας τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο, τὴν αὐτὴν διεξιὼν χώραν ἡν καὶ Ξέρξης ἐπορεύθη, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς 4 Έλληνας. 'Αγησίλαος μὲν οῦν διὰ Μακεδονίας καὶ Θετταλίας πορευθείς, ὡς διῆλθε τὰ περὶ Θερμο-

πύλας στενά, . . . την πορείαν εποιείτο.

Κόνων δὲ ὁ ᾿Αθηναῖος καὶ Φαρνάβαζος ἀφηγοῦντο

So Rhodoman : συνέδριον.  $^2$  πολλή στρατιά Vogel, πολλής στρατιάς PA, μετὰ πολλής στρατιάς cet.

their native lands, and the members of the Council 395 B.C. in Corinth, since affairs were progressing as they desired, gathered to Corinth soldiers from all the cities, more than fifteen thousand infantry and about

five hundred cavalry.

83. When the Lacedaemonians saw that the greatest cities of Greece were uniting against them, they voted to summon Agesilaüs and his army from Asia. In the meantime they gathered from their own levy and their allies twenty-three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry and advanced to meet the enemy. The battle took place along the river Nemea,¹ lasting until nightfall, and parts of both armies had the advantage, but of the Lacedaemonians and their allies eleven hundred men fell, while of the Boeotians and their allies about twenty-eight hundred.

After Agesilaüs had conveyed his army across from Asia to Europe, at first he was opposed by certain Thracians <sup>2</sup> with a large force; these he defeated in battle, slaying the larger number of the barbarians. Then he made his way through Macedonia, passing through the same country as Xerxes did when he made his campaign against the Greeks. When Agesilaüs had traversed Macedonia and Thessaly and made his way through the pass of Thermopylae,

he continued. . . . . 3

Conon the Athenian and Pharnabazus were in

<sup>2</sup> The Trallians (Plutarch, Agesilaüs, 16. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The river formed the boundary between Sicyonia and Corinthia (Strabo, 8. 6. 25).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Greek is defective; "through Phocis," "at top speed," and other suggestions have been made.

<sup>3</sup> στενά Reiske: στενήν.

μέν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου, διέτριβον δὲ περὶ Λώρυμα της Χερρονήσου, τριήρεις έχοντες πλείους 5 των ενενήκοντα. πυθόμενοι δε εν Κνίδω το ναυτικόν τῶν πολεμίων είναι, τὰ πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζοντο. Πείσανδρος δ' ο τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων ναύαρχος εξέπλευσεν έκ της Κνίδου τριήρεσιν ογδοήκοντα πέντε καὶ κατηνέχθη πρὸς Φύσκον τῆς 6 Χερρονήσου. ἐκειθεν δ' ἐκπλεύσας περιέπεσε τῶ στόλω τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ταῖς μὲν προπλεούσαις1 ναυσί συμβαλών προετέρει, τῶν δὲ Περσῶν² ἄμα ταις τριήρεσιν άθρόαις παραβοηθησάντων, ἐπειδή πάντες οι σύμμαχοι πρὸς την γην έφυγον, την ίδίαν ναθν ἐπέστρεψεν, αἰσχρὸν είναι νομίσας καὶ τῆς 7 Σπάρτης ἀνάξιον τὸ φυγεῖν ἀγεννῶς. ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ λαμπρῶς καὶ πολλούς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελών, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀξίως τῆς πατρίδος ἀνηρέθη μαχόμενος. οι δὲ περὶ τὸν Κόνωνα μέχρι τῆς γῆς καταδιώξαντες τούς Λακεδαιμονίους πεντήκοντα μέν τριήρων ἐκυρίευσαν, τῶν δ' ἀνδρῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι μεν εκκολυμβήσαντες κατά γην έφυγον, εάλωσαν δέ περὶ πεντακοσίους αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τριήρεις εἰς Κνίδον διεσώθησαν.

84. 'Αγησίλαος δὲ προσλαβόμενος ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στρατιώτας, ἐπειδὴ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπέβαινεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν, εὐθὺς οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τῶν
συμμάχων ἀπήντησαν εἰς Κορώνειαν. γενομένης
δὲ παρατάξεως Θηβαῖοι μὲν τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς μέρος
τρεψάμενοι μέχρι τῆς παρεμβολῆς κατεδίωξαν, οἱ
δ' ἄλλοι μικρὸν ἀντισχόντες χρόνον ὑπ' 'Αγησιλάου
2 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυγεῖν ἢναγκάσθησαν. διὸ καὶ

So Reiske: προσπλεούσαις.
 So Stephanus: Περσικών.

command of the King's fleet 1 and were tarrying in 395 B.C. Loryma of the Chersonesus 2 with more than ninety triremes. When they learned that the enemy's naval forces were at Cnidus, they made preparations for battle. Peisander, the Lacedaemonian admiral, set out from Cnidus with eighty-five triremes and put in at Physicus of the Chersonesus. On sailing from there he fell in with the King's fleet, and engaging the leading ships, he won the advantage over them; but when the Persians 3 came to give aid with their triremes in close formation, all his allies fled to the land. But Peisander turned his own ship against them, believing ignoble flight to be disgraceful and unworthy of Sparta. After fighting brilliantly and slaving many of the enemy, in the end he was overcome, battling in a manner worthy of his native land. Conon pursued the Lacedaemonians as far as the land and captured fifty of their triremes. As for the crews, most of them leaped overboard and escaped by land, but about five hundred were captured. The rest of the triremes found safety at Cnidus.

84. Agesilaüs enlisted more soldiers from the Peloponnesus and then advanced with his army against Boeotia, whereupon the Boeotians, together with their allies, at once set out to Coroneia to meet him. In the battle which followed the Thebans defeated the forces opposed to them and pursued them as far as their camp, but the others held out only a short time and then were forced by Agesilaüs and his troops to take to flight. Therefore the Lacedae-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 81. 4 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> At the south-west tip of Asia Minor.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The part of the fleet under the command of Pharnabazus (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4. 3. 11).

νενικηκέναι τῆ μάχη Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαλαβόντες ἔστησαν τρόπαιον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν.¹ ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πλείους τῶν έξακοσίων, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ τῶν συναγωνισαμένων τριακόσιοι πεντήκοντα· καὶ αὐτὸς ᾿Αγησίλαος πολλοῖς περιπεπτωκὼς τραύμασιν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐκομίσθη, κἀκεῖ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

Φαρνάβαζος δε καὶ Κόνων μετά τὴν ναυμαχίαν άνήχθησαν άπάσαις ταις ναυσίν έπι τους των Λάκεδαιμονίων συμμάχους. καὶ πρώτον μὲν Κώους άπέστησαν, είτα Νισυρίους καὶ Τηίους. μετά δέ ταῦτα Χῖοι τὴν φρουρὰν ἐκβαλόντες προσέθεντο τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα παραπλησίως δὲ μετέβαλον καὶ 4 Μιτυληναίοι καὶ Ἐφέσιοι καὶ Ἐρυθραίοι. τοιαύτη δὲ τῆς μεταστάσεως σπουδή<sup>2</sup> τις εἰς τὰς πόλεις ένέπεσεν, ών αι μεν εκβάλλουσαι τὰς φρουράς των Λακεδαιμονίων την έλευθερίαν διεφύλαττον, αί δέ τοῖς περὶ Κόνωνα προσετίθεντο, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν ἀπέβαλον, οἱ δὲ περὶ Κόνωνα κρίναντες παντί τῷ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Αττικὴν ἀνέζευξαν, καὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους προσαγαγόμενοι κατ-5 έπλευσαν ἐπὶ Κύθηρα τὴν νῆσον. εὐθὺ δὲ ταύτης έξ εφόδου κυριεύσαντες τους μεν Κυθηρίους ύποσπόνδους έξέπεμψαν είς την Λακωνικήν, αὐτοί δὲ καταλιπόντες της πόλεως την ίκανην φρουράν έπλεον ἐπὶ Κορίνθου. ἐκεῖ δὲ καταπλεύσαντες τοις συνέδροις διελέχθησαν ύπερ ων ήθελον, καὶ

So Dindorf: ἔδωκαν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τοιαύτη δὲ τῆς μεταστάσεως σπουδή Reiske: τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς καταστάσεως οὕσης σπουδή.
<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: Κορινθίους.

monians, looking upon themselves as conquerors, set 395 B.C. up a trophy and gave back the dead to the enemy under a truce. There fell of the Boeotians and their allies more than six hundred, but of the Lacedae-monians and their associates three hundred and fifty. Agesilaus, who had suffered many wounds, was taken to Delphi, where he looked after his physical needs.<sup>1</sup>

After the sea-fight Pharnabazus and Conon put out to sea with all their ships against the allies of the Lacedaemonians. First of all they induced the people of Cos to secede, and then those of Nisyros and of Teos. After this the Chians expelled their garrison and joined Conon, and similarly the Mitylenaeans and Ephesians and Erythracans changed sides. Something like the same eagerness for change infected all the cities, of which some expelled their Lacedaemonian garrisons and maintained their freedom, while others attached themselves to Conon. As for the Lacedaemonians, from this time they lost the sovereignty of the sea. Conon, having decided to sail with the entire fleet to Attica, put out to sea, and after bringing over to his cause the islands of the Cyclades, he sailed against the island of Cythera. Mastering it at once on the first assault, he sent the Cytherians under a truce to Laconia, left an adequate garrison for the city, and sailed for Corinth. After putting in there he discussed with the members of the Council such points as they wished, made an

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  A more adequate account of the battle of Coroneia is given in Xenophon, Hell.~4.~3.~15-20; Plutarch,  $Agesila\"{u}s, 18.$ 

συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι τούτοις μέν χρήματα κατέλιπον, αὐτοὶ δ' εἰς τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐξέπλευσαν.

6 Περί δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον 'Αέροπος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησε νόσω, βασιλεύσας ἔτη
ἔξ· τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξάμενος Παυσανίας υίὸς
7 ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτόν. Θεόπομπος δ' ὁ Χῖος τὴν τῶν
'Ελληνικῶν σύνταξιν κατέστροφεν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν
ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν περὶ Κνίδον ναυμαχίαν, γράψας βύβλους δώδεκα. ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὖτος
ἦρκται μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ Κυνὸς σῆμα ναυμαχίας,
εἰς ἡν Θουκυδίδης κατέληξε τὴν¹ πραγματείαν,
ἔγραψε δὲ χρόνον ἐτῶν δεκαεπτά.

85. Έπει δε ό ενιαυσιαίος χρόνος διεληλύθει, 'Αθήνησι μὲν Εὐβουλίδης ἦρξεν, ἐν 'Ρώμη δὲ την ύπατικην άρχην διώκουν χιλίαρχοι έξ, Λεύκιος Σέργιος, Αθλος Ποστούμιος, Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος. 2 Κόιντος Μάνλιος. περί δε τούτους τους χρόνους Κόνων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων, ονδοήκοντα τριήρεσι καταπλεύσας είς τὸν Πειραιέα τοις πολίταις υπέσχετο τον περίβολον της πόλεως άνοικοδομήσειν τοῦ γὰρ Πειραιέως τὰ τείγη καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρητο κατὰ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων συνθήκας, ότε κατεπονήθησαν έν τώ Πελοπον-3 νησιακώ πολέμω. δ δ' οὖν Κόνων μισθωσάμενος πληθος τεχνιτών, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τών πληρωμάτων όχλον είς ύπηρεσίαν παραδούς, ταχέως το πλείστον μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνωκοδόμησε καὶ γὰρ Θηβαῖοι πεντακοσίους τεχνίτας καὶ λιθοτόμους ἀπέστειλαν. 4 καί τινες άλλαι των πόλεων παρεβοήθησαν. Τιρί-244

alliance with them, left them money, and then sailed 395 B.C. off to Asia.1

At this time Aëropus, the king of the Macedonians, died of illness after a reign of six years, and was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son Pausanias, who ruled for one year. Theopompus of Chios ended with this year and the battle of Cnidus his *Hellenic History*, which he wrote in twelve books. This historian began with the battle of Cynossema,<sup>2</sup> with which Thucydides ended his work, and covered in his account a period of seventeen years.<sup>3</sup>

85. At the conclusion of the year, in Athens 894 B.C. Eubulides was archon and in Rome the consular magistracy was administered by six military tribunes, Lucius Sergius, Aulus Postumius, Publius Cornelius, and Quintus Manlius.4 At this time Conon, who held the command of the King's fleet, put in at the Peiraeus with eighty triremes and promised the citizens to rebuild the fortifications of the city; for the walls of the Peiraeus and the long walls had been destroyed in accordance with the terms the Athenians had concluded with the Lacedaemonians when they were reduced in the Peloponnesian War. Accordingly Conon hired a multitude of skilled workers, and putting at their service the general run of his crews, he speedily rebuilt the larger part of the wall. For the Thebans too sent five hundred skilled workers and masons, and some other cities also gave assistance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These negotiations were in fact the work of Pharnabazus, who was in supreme command of the fleet (Xenophon, *Hell*. 4. 8. 6 ff.) and who alone could speak for the King of Persia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Book 13, 40. 5 f. and note.

<sup>3</sup> 410-394 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> The names differ greatly from those of Livy, 5. 16. 1.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν added by Reiske.

βαζος δ' δ τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν πεζῶν δυνάμεων ἀφηγούμενος ἐφθόνει ταῖς τοῦ Κόνωνος εὐπραξίαις, καὶ πρόφασιν μὲν λαβὼν ὅτι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς δυνάμεσι τὰς πόλεις 'Αθηναίοις κατακτᾶται, προαγαγόμενος¹ δ' αὐτὸν εἰς Σάρδεις συνέλαβε καὶ δήσας εἰς φυλακὴν κατέθετο.

86. Έν δὲ τῆ Κορίνθω τινὲς τῶν ἐπιθυμούντων δημοκρατίας² συστραφέντες άγώνων όντων έν τῷ θεάτρω φόνον ἐποίησαν καὶ στάσεως ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν πόλιν· συνεπιλαβομένων δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς τόλμης 'Αργείων, έκατὸν μέν καὶ εἴκοσι τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπ-2 έσφαξαν, πεντακοσίους δ' έφυγάδευσαν. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ παρασκευαζομένων κατάγειν καὶ δύναμιν άθροιζόντων, 'Αθηναΐοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ παρεβοήθουν τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν, ὅπως τὴν πόλιν ἐξιδιοποιήσωνται. 3 καὶ οἱ μὲν φυγάδες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων έπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον καὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐπελθόντες νυκτὸς κατὰ κράτος είλαν τῆ δ' ύστεραία των έκ της πόλεως ἐπεξελθόντων, ων Ίφικράτης ήγειτο, συνέβη γενέσθαι μάχην, εν ή Λακεδαιμόνιοι νικήσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέκτειναν. 4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἴ τε Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ᾿Αθηναῖοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις 'Αργεῖοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι πάση τῆ δυνάμει παρελθόντες είς τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πολιορκήσαντες τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ διατειχίσματος είσεβιάζοντο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων

Ű.

So Eichstädt: προαγόμενος.
 ἐπιθυμούντων δημοκρατίας Wurm: ἐπιθυμία κρατούντων.

But Tiribazus, who commanded the land forces in 894 B.C. Asia, was envious of Conon's successes, and on the plea that Conon was using the King's armaments to win the cities for the Athenians, he lured him to Sardis, where he arrested him, threw him in chains, and remanded him to custody.

86. In Corinth certain men who favoured a democracy, banding together while contests were being held in the theatre, instituted a slaughter and filled the city with civil strife; and when the Argives gave them their support in their venture, they put to the sword one hundred and twenty of the citizens and drove five hundred into exile. While the Lacedaemonians were making preparations to restore the exiles and gathering an army, the Athenians and Bocotians came to the aid of the murderers, in order that they might secure the adhesion of the city. The exiles, together with the Lacedaemonians and their allies, attacked Lechaeum 2 and the dock-yard by night and seized them by storm; and on the next day, when the troops of the city, which Iphicrates commanded, came out against them, a battle followed in which the Lacedaemonians were victorious and slew no small number of their opponents. After this the Boeotians and Athenians, and with them the Argives and Corinthians, came with all their forces to Lechaeum, and at the outset they laid siege to the place and forced their way into the corridor between the walls; but afterward the Lacedaemonians

<sup>2</sup> The harbour of Corinth on the Corinthian Gulf, connected with Corinth by long walls.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He was aroused against Conon by the Lacedaemonians (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4. 8. 12 f.).

<sup>3 70</sup> deleted by Eichstädt, Vogel.

καὶ τῶν φυγάδων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισαμένων ἐξεώσθησαν οί Βοιωτοί και οί μετ' αυτών άπαντες. ουτοι μέν οὖν περὶ χιλίους τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλόντες 5 είς την πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. εὐθὺ δὲ τῶν Ἰσθμίων ἐπελθόντων διεφέροντο περί τῆς θέσεως τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ πολλὰ φιλονεικησάντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐποίησαν θεῖναι 6 τον άγωνα. των δε κατά τον πόλεμον δεινων σχεδόν τι περί την Κόρινθον γενομένων ο πόλεμος οδτος ἐκλήθη Κορινθιακός, καὶ διέμεινεν ἔτη ὀκτώ. 87. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν 'Ρηγίνοι κατηγοροῦντες Διονυσίου ότι Μεσσήνην τειχίζων έπ' αὐτοὺς κατασκευάζεται, πρώτον μεν τους ύπο Διονυσίου φυγαδευομένους και τάναντία πράττοντας ύπεδέξαντο, μετά δε ταθτα των Ναξίων και Καταναίων τους υπολειπομένους είς Μύλας κατοικίσαντες, δύναμιν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ στρατηγόν "Ελωριν έξ-2 έπεμψαν πολιορκήσοντα Μεσσήνην. τούτου δε την ἐπίθεσιν κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ποιησαμένου παραβόλως, οἱ κατέχοντες τὴν πόλιν Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Διονυσίου μισθοφόροι συστραφέντες απήντησαν. γενομένης δε μάχης ενίκων οι Μεσσήνιοι καὶ 3 πλείους των πεντακοσίων απέκτειναν. εὐθὺ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς Μύλας ἐπελθόντες είλον τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς οἰκισθέντας ἐν αὐτῆ Ναξίους ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. οδτοι μέν οδν είς τε Σικελούς και τας Έλληνίδας πόλεις ἀπελθόντες ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλους τόπους κατ-4 ώκησαν· ο δε Διονύσιος, τῶν περὶ τὸν³ πορθμὸν αὐτῶ τόπων κατεσκευασμένων φιλίων, διενοεῖτο

So Eichstädt: αὖτοί.
 τὰς ἄλλας after καὶ deleted by Wurm.
 τὸν added by Reiske.

and the exiles put up a brilliant fight and forced out 394 B.C. the Boeotians and all who were with them. They then, having lost about a thousand soldiers, returned to the city. And since the Isthmian Games were now at hand, there was a quarrel over who should conduct them. After much contention the Lacedaemonians had their way and saw to it that the exiles conducted the festival. Since the severe fighting in the war took place for the most part about Corinth. it was called the Corinthian War, and it continued

for eight years.

87. In Sicily the people of Rhegium, bringing the charge against Dionysius that in fortifying Messenê he was making preparations against them, first of all offered asylum to those who were expelled by Dionysius and were active against him, and then settled in Mylae the surviving Naxians and Catanians, prepared an army, and dispatched as its general Heloris 2 to lav siege to Messenê. When Heloris made a reckless attack upon the acropolis, the Messenians and the mercenaries of Dionysius, who were holding the city, closed ranks and advanced against him. In the battle that followed the Messenians were victorious and slew more than five hundred of their opponents. Marching straightway against Mylae, they seized the city and let the Naxians who had been settled there go free under a truce. These, accordingly, departed to the Siceli and the Greek cities and made their dwelling some in one place and others in another. Dionysius, now that the regions about the Straits had been brought to friendly terms with him, planned

<sup>1</sup> The narrative is resumed from chapter 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Heloris had been exiled from Syracuse by Dionysius (chap. 103, 5; cp. chap. 8, 5).

μεν επί 'Ρήγιον στρατιὰν ἄγειν, παρηνωχλεῖτο δ' ύπὸ τῶν τὸ Ταυρομένιον κατειληφότων Σικελῶν. 5 διόπερ κρίνας συμφέρειν τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι πρώτοις, ἐξήγαγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ στρατοπεδεύσας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν Νάξον μέρους προσεκαρτέρει τῆ πολιορκία τὸν χειμῶνα, νομίζων τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐκλείψειν τὸν λόφον διὰ τὸ μὴ πάλαι

κατωκηκέναι.

88. Οἱ δὲ Σικελοὶ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐκ παλαιοῦ παρειληφότες ὅτι τὰ μέρη ταῦτα τῆς νήσου Σικελών κατεχόντων "Ελληνες πρώτως καταπλεύσαντες έκτισαν μεν Νάξον, εξέβαλον δ' εκ τούτου τοῦ λόφου τους τότε κατοικούντας Σικελούς διο δή φάσκοντες πατρώαν ἀνακτήσασθαι χώραν καὶ περί ών είς τους έαυτων προγόνους έξήμαρτον Έλληνες αμύνασθαι δικαίως, εφιλοτιμοῦντο κατασχεῖν τὸν 2 λόφον. ὑπερβαλλούσης δὲ φιλονεικίας παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ούσης, ἔτυχον μεν οὖσαι τροπαὶ χειμεριναί, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους χειμώνας ὁ περὶ τὴν ακρόπολιν τόπος πλήρης ἢν χιόνος. ἐνταῦθα δὴ Διονύσιος τους Σικελους διά την οχυρότητα καί την ύπερβολην τοῦ τείχους ράθυμοῦντας περί την κατά την ακρόπολιν φυλακήν εύρων, ώρμησε νυκτὸς ἀσελήνου καὶ χειμερίου πρὸς τοὺς ἀνωτάτω 3 τόπους. πολλά δὲ κακοπαθήσας διά τε τὴν τῶν κρημνών δυσχέρειαν καὶ τὸ πληθος της χιόνος, μιᾶς μὲν ἀκροπόλεως ἐκυρίευσε, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον έξήλκωσε καὶ τὰς ὄψεις ἔβλαψε διὰ τὸ ψῦχος μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἔτερον μέρος παρεισπεσών εἰσήγαγε την δύναμιν είς την πόλιν. των δε Σικελών άθρόων<sup>1</sup> βοηθησάντων έξεώσθησαν οί μετὰ τοῦ to lead an army against Rhegium, but he had trouble 394 B.C. with the Siceli who held Tauromenium. Deciding, therefore, that it would be to his advantage to attack them first, he led out his forces against them, pitched a camp on the side toward Naxos, and persisted in the siege during the winter, in the belief that the Siceli would desert the hill since they had not been dwelling there long.

88. The Siceli, however, had an ancient tradition. handed down from their ancestors, that these parts of the island had been the possession of the Siceli, when Greeks first landed there and founded Naxos, expelling from that very hill the Siceli who were then dwelling on it. Maintaining, therefore, that they had only recovered territory that belonged to their fathers and were justly righting the wrongs which the Greeks had committed against their ancestors, they put forth every effort to hold the hill. While extraordinary rivalry was being displayed on both sides, the winter solstice occurred, and because of the consequent winter storms the area about the acropolis was filled with snow. Thereupon Dionysius, who had discovered that the Siceli were careless in their guard of the acropolis because of its strength and the unusual height of the wall, advanced on a moonless and stormy night against the loftiest sectors. many difficulties both because of the obstacles offered by the crags and because of the great depth of the snow he occupied one peak, although his face was frosted and his vision impaired by the cold. After this he broke through to the other side and led his army into the city. But when the Siceli came up in a body, the troops of Dionysius were thrust out and

Διονυσίου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῆ φυγῆ τυπτόμενος εἰς τὸν θώρακα περιεκυλίσθη, καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον συν4 ελήφθη ζῶν. τῶν δὲ Σικελῶν ἐπικειμένων ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τόπων, ἀνηρέθησαν μὲν τῶν μετὰ Διονυσίου 
πλείους τῶν ἐξακοσίων, ἀπέβαλον δὲ τὰς πανοπλίας 
οἱ πλεῖστοι· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Διονύσιος μόνον τὸν 
5 θώρακα διέσωσεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀτυχίαν ταύτην 
'Ακραγαντῖνοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι τοὺς τὰ Διονυσίου 
φρονοῦντας μεταστησάμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντειχοντο καὶ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχίας ἀπέστησαν.

89. Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐγκαλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔφυγεν, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκατέτταρα· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενος ὁ υίὸς ᾿Αγησίπολις ἡρξε τὸν ἴσον τῷ πατρὶ χρόνον.
2 ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ ᾿Αμύντου δόλῳ, ἄρξας ἐνιαυτόν· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν κατέσχεν ᾿Αμύντας, καὶ

ήρξεν έτη είκοσι τέσσαρα.

90. Τοῦ δὲ ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος ᾿Αθήνησι μὲν παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχὴν Δημόστρατος, ἐν Ῥώμη δὲ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διώκουν χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Λεύ-2 κιος Τιτίνιος, Πόπλιος Λικίνιος, Πόπλιος Μελαΐος, Κόιντος Μάλλιος, Γναΐος Γενύκιος, Λεύκιος ᾿Ατίλιος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων Μάγων ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων στρατηγὸς διέτριβε μὲν ἐν Σικελία, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῶν Καρχηδονίων 3 ἀπὸ τῆς γεγενημένης συμφορᾶς ἀνελάμβανε· ταῖς τε γὰρ ὑποτεταγμέναις πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου πολεμουμένους ὑπεδέχετο. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Σικελῶν συμμαχίας, καὶ δυνάμεις ἀθροίσας 252

Dionysius himself was struck on the corslet in the 304 B.O. flight, sent scrambling, and barely escaped being taken alive. Since the Siceli pressed upon them from superior ground, more than six hundred of Dionysius' troops were slain and most of them lost their complete armour, while Dionysius himself saved only his corslet. After this disaster the Acragantini and Messenians banished the partisans of Dionysius, asserted their freedom, and renounced their alliance with the tyrant.

89. Pausanias, the king of the Lacedaemonians, was accused by his fellow citizens and went into exile after a reign of fourteen years, and his son Agesipolis succeeded to the kingship and reigned for the same length of time as his father. Pausanias too, the king of the Macedonians, died after a reign of one year, being assassinated by Amyntas, who seized the kingship and reigned twenty-four years.

90. At the conclusion of this year, in Athens 393 B.C Demostratus took over the archonship, and in Rome the consular magistracy was administered by six military tribunes, Lucius Titinius, Publius Licinius, Publius Melaeus, Quintus Mallius, Gnaeus Genycius, and Lucius Atilius. After these magistrates had entered office, Magon, the Carthaginian general, was stationed in Sicily. He set about retrieving the Carthaginian cause after the disaster they had suffered, for he showed kindness to the subject cities and received the victims of Dionysius' wars. He also formed alliances with most of the Siceli and, after gathering armaments, launched an attack upon the

ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. λεηλατήσας δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλῆς ἀφελείας ἐγκρατὴς γενό-μενος ἀνέξευξε καὶ πρὸς ᾿Αβακαίνη πόλει συμμαχίδι 4 κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. Διονυσίου δὲ ἐπελθόντος μετά της δυνάμεως παρετάχθησαν, καὶ γενομένης καρτερας μάχης ενίκησαν οί περί Διονύσιον. καί οί μεν Καρχηδόνιοι πλείους δκτακοσίων αποβαλόντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Διονύσιος δὲ τότε μὲν είς Συρακούσας ἀνέζευξε, μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας έκατον τριήρεις πληρώσας έστράτευσεν έπί τρη-5 γίνους. απροσδοκήτως δε νυκτός επιφανείς τη πόλει τὰς πύλας ἐνέπρησε καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι προσήρεισε κλίμακας. οἱ δὲ ዮηγῖνοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον όλίνοι προσβοηθήσαντες ἐπεχείρουν σβεννύναι τὴν φλόγα, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλώριδος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραγενομένου καὶ συμβουλεύσαντος τάναντία πράτ-6 τειν έσωσαν την πόλιν. σβεννύντες μέν γάρ τὸ πῦρ οὐκ ἂν ἴσχυσαν Διονύσιον κωλῦσαι εἰσελθεῖν. ολίγοι παντελώς όντες, εκ δε των εγγύς οἰκιων ενέγκαντες φρύγανα καὶ ξύλα τὴν φλόγα κατεσκεύαζον μείζονα, μέχρι ότου τὸ πλήθος ἐν τοῖς 7 ὅπλοις ἀθροισθὲν παρεβοήθησεν. Διονύσιος δὲ τῆς επιβολης αποτυχών επηλθε την χώραν εμπυρίζων καὶ δενδροτομών, καὶ μετά ταῦτ' ἐνιαυσίους¹ άνοχὰς ποιησάμενος έξέπλευσεν ἐπὶ Συρακουσών.

91. Οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοικοῦντες ελληνες ε΄ώρων μὲν μέχρι τῆς ε΄αυτῶν χώρας προβαίνουσαν τὴν Διονυσίου πλεονεξίαν, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ε΄ποιήσαντο καὶ συνέδριον ε΄γκατεσκεύαζον. ἤλπιζον γὰρ τὸν Διονύσιον ρᾳδίως ἀμυνεῖσθαι καὶ

1 éviavolous PL, éviavoialous cet.

territory of Messenê. After ravaging the countryside 898 B.C. and seizing much booty he marched from that place and went into camp near the city of Abacaenê, which was his ally. When Dionysius came up with his army, the forces drew up for battle, and after a sharp engagement Dionysius was the victor. The Carthaginians fled into the city after a loss of more than eight hundred men, while Dionysius withdrew for the time being to Syracuse; but after a few days he manned one hundred triremes and set out against the Rhegians. Arriving unexpectedly by night before the city, he put fire to the gates and set ladders against the walls. The Rhegians, coming up in defence as they did at first in small numbers, endeavoured to put out the flames, but later, when their general Heloris arrived and advised them to do just the opposite, they saved the city. For if they had put out the fire, they would not have been strong enough to prevent Dionysius from entering, being far too small a number; but by bringing firewood and timbers from the neighbouring houses they made the flames higher, until the main body of their troops could assemble in arms and come to the defence. Dionysius, who had failed of his design, traversed the countryside, wasting it in flames and cutting down orchards, and then concluded a truce for a year and sailed off to Syracuse.

91. The Greek inhabitants of Italy, when they saw the encroachments of Dionysius advancing as far as their own lands, formed an alliance among themselves and established a Council. It was their hope to defend themselves with ease against Dionysius

τοῖς παροικοῦσι Λευκανῶν ἀντιτάξεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ

οὖτοι τότε διεπολέμουν πρὸς αὐτούς.

2 Οἱ δὲ τὸ Λέχαιον τῆς Κορινθίας κατέχοντες φυγάδες νυκτὸς ὑπό τινων εἰσαχθέντες ἐνεχείρησαν μὲν καταλαμβάνειν τὰ τείχη, τῶν δὲ μετ' Ἰφικράτους ἐκβοηθησάντων τριακοσίους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ναύσταθμον. μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μέρος τῆς στρατιᾶς διήει διὰ τῆς Κορινθίας χώρας, οἶς Ἰφικράτης καί τινες τῶν ἐν Κορίνθω συμμάχων ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς πλείστους ἀνείλον. Ἰφικράτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν πελταστῶν ἐπὶ Φλιασίαν στρατεύσας, καὶ μάχην τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως συνάψας, τούτων μὲν πλείους τριακοσίων ἀπέκτεινε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Σικυῶνα αὐτοῦ πορευθέντος, οἱ Σικυώνιοι παραταξάμενοι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπέβαλον περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

92. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων 'Αργεῖοι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων πανδημεὶ στρατεύσαντες εἰς Κόρινθον τήν τ' ἀκρόπολιν κατελάβοντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξιδιοποιησάμενοι τὴν Κορινθίων χώραν 'Αργείαν ἐποίη-2 σαν. ἐπεβάλετο δὲ καὶ 'Ιφικράτης ὁ 'Αθηναῖος καταλαβέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιτήδειον οὖσαν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν· τοῦ δὲ δήμου κωλύσαντος οὖτος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι Χαβρίαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον

έξέπεμψαν.

3 Κατά δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αμύντας δ Φιλίππου πατὴρ 'Ιλλυριῶν ἐμβαλόντων εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐξέπιπτεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας' ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν 'Ολυν-

So Dindorf: χώραν.
 χώρας Dindorf: πόλεως.

and to resist the neighbouring Leucani; for these 898 B.C. last were also at war with them at this time.

The exiles who held Lechaeum in Corinthian territory, being admitted into the city 1 in the night, endeavoured to get possession of the walls, but when the troops of Iphicrates came up against them, they lost three hundred of their number and fled back to the ship station. Some days later a contingent of the Lacedaemonian army was passing through Corinthian territory, when Iphicrates and some of the allies in Corinth fell on them and slew the larger Iphicrates with his peltasts advanced against the territory of Phlius,2 and joining battle with the men of the city, he slew more than three hundred of them. Then, when he advanced against Sicvon, the Sicvonians offered battle before their walls but lost about five hundred men and found refuge within their city.

92. After these events had taken place, the Argives took up arms in full force and marched against Corinth, and after seizing the acropolis and securing the city for themselves, they made the Corinthian territory Argive. The Athenian Iphicrates also had the design to seize the city, since it was advantageous for the control of Greece; but when the Athenian people opposed it, he resigned his position. The Athenians appointed Chabrias general in his place and sent him to Corinth.

In Macedonia Amyntas, the father of Philip, was driven from his country by Illyrians who invaded Macedonia, and giving up hope for his crown, he made a present to the Olynthians of his territory

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Corinth.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Some ten miles south-west of Corinth.

θίοις μὲν τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν έδωρήσατο, αὐτὸς δὲ τότε μὲν ἀπέβαλε τὴν βασιλείαν, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον ύπο Θετταλών καταχθείς ανεκτήσατο την 4 ἄρχήν, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι τέτταρα. ἔνιοι δέ φασι μετά την έκπτωσιν την Αμύντου διετη χρόνον 'Αργαῖον βασιλεῦσαι τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ τότε τὸν 'Αμύνταν ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν.

93. Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ Σάτυρος δ Σπαρτάκου μὲν υίός, βασιλεύς δὲ Βοσπόρου, ἐτελεύτησεν, ἄρξας έτη τετταράκοντα<sup>2</sup> την ήγεμονίαν δε διεδέξατο δ υίδς Λεύκων επ' έτη τετταράκοντα.

- Κατά δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πολιορκοῦντες ένδέκατον έτος Βηίους κατέστησαν αὐτοκράτορα μέν Μάρκον Φούριον, ἵππαρχον δέ Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον. οδτοι δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις Βηίους έξεπολιόρκησαν διώρυγα κατασκευάσαντες, καί την πόλιν έξανδραποδισάμενοι τούς τε άνδρας καὶ τὴν 3 ἄλλην λείαν ελαφυροπώλησαν. δ μεν οὖν αὐτοκράτωρ θρίαμβον ήγαγεν, δ δε τῶν Ῥωμαίων δημος ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων δεκάτην ἐξελόμενος χρυσοῦν
- κατεσκεύασε κρατήρα καὶ είς Δελφούς ἀνέθηκεν. 4 οί δὲ κομίζοντες αὐτὸν πρεσβευταὶ λησταῖς Λιπαραίοις περιέπεσον, καὶ πάντες αἰχμαλωτισθέντες κατήχθησαν είς Λιπάραν. Τιμασίθεος δ' δ τῶν Λιπαραίων στρατηγός γνούς το γεγενημένον, τούς τε πρεσβευτάς ἀνέσωσε καὶ το χρυσίον ἀποδούς είς Δελφούς τους πρέσβεις αποκατέστησεν. οί δε τὸν κρατήρα κομίζοντες, ἀναθέντες αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν των Μασσαλιητων θησαυρόν, εἰς 'Ρώμην ἀνέστρε-5 ψαν. διόπερ ὁ δῆμος των 'Ρωμαίων πυθόμενος

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> βασιλεῦσαι τῶν Reiske: βασιλεύσαντα.
 <sup>2</sup> τέτταρα after τετταράκοντα deleted by Vogel (cp. 12. 36. 1). 258

which bordered on theirs. For the time being he lost \$998 s.c. his kingdom, but shortly he was restored by the Thessalians, recovered his crown, and ruled for twenty-four years. Some say, however, that after the expulsion of Amyntas the Macedonians were ruled by Argaeus for a period of two years, and that it was after that time that Amyntas recovered the kingship.

93. The same year Satyrus, the son of Spartacus and king of Bosporus, died after a reign of forty years, and his son Leucon succeeded him in the rulership

for a period of forty years.

In Italy the Romans, who were in the eleventh year of their siege of the Veians, appointed Marcus Furius to be dictator and Publius Cornelius to be master of the horse. These restored the spirit of the troops and captured Veii 1 by constructing an underground passage; the city they reduced to slavery, selling the inhabitants with the other booty. dictator then celebrated a triumph, and the Roman people, taking a tenth of the spoil, made a gold bowl and dedicated it to the oracle at Delphi. The ambassadors who were taking it fell in with pirates from the Lipari islands, were all taken prisoners, and brought to Lipara. But Timasitheüs, the general of the Liparaeans, on learning what had taken place. rescued the ambassadors, gave them back the vessel of gold, and sent them on their way to Delphi. The men who were conveying the bowl dedicated it in the Treasury 2 of the Massalians and returned to Rome. Consequently the Roman people, when they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The fullest account of the capture of this city after a ten-year siege is in Livy, 5. 19 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Delphi was filled with such small buildings erected by individual Greek cities to house their dedications to the oracle.

τὴν τοῦ Τιμασιθέου καλοκάγαθίαν, παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐτίμησε δημόσιον δοὺς κατάλυμα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ἑπτὰ τὴν Λιπάραν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς ἐγγόνους τοῦ Τιμασιθέου τῶν τε εἰσφορῶν ἀτελεῖς ἀφῆκε καὶ

έλευθέρους ἐποίησεν.

94. Έπεὶ δ' ὁ ἐνιαύσιος διεληλύθει χρόνος, 'Αθήνησι μεν ήρχε Φιλοκλής, εν 'Ρώμη δε την υπατικήν άρχην μετέλαβον έξ χιλίαρχοι, Πόπλιος καὶ Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος, Λεύκιος Φούριος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ήχθη δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπιας κατά τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς 2 ενενήκοντα, καθ' ην ενίκα Τερίρης. κατά δε τούτους τους χρόνους 'Αθηναιοι στρατηγόν έλόμενοι Θρασύβουλον εξέπεμψαν μετά τριήρων τετταράκουτα. οὖτος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἰωνίαν καὶ χρήματα λαβών παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἀνέζευξε, καὶ διατρίβων περί Χερρόνησον Μήδοκον και Σεύθην τούς 3 τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεῖς συμμάχους ἐποιήσατο. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον έξ Ελλησπόντου πλεύσας εἰς Λέσβον ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὴν "Ερεσον αἰγιαλῷ καθώρμει. έπιγενομένων δὲ πνευμάτων μεγάλων εἴκοσί μὲν καὶ τρείς τριήρεις διεφθάρησαν μετὰ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν διασωθείς έπήει τὰς κατὰ τὴν Λέσβον πόλεις προσαγόμενος άφειστήκεισαν γάρ πασαι πλήν 4 Μιτυλήνης. καὶ πρώτον μέν ἐπὶ Μέθυμναν παραγενόμενος επισυνηψε μάχην τοῖς εκ τῆς πόλεως, ὧν ἦρχε Θηρίμαχος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης. ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ λαμπρῶς αὐτόν τε τὸν Θηρίμαχον ἀνεῖλε καὶ των Μεθυμναίων οὐκ ολίγους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς συνέκλεισεν έντὸς τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν 1 καθ' added by Dindorf.

# BOOK XIV. 93. 5-94. 4

learned of this generous act of Timasitheüs, honoured 898 B.C. him at once by conferring the right to public hospitality, and one hundred and thirty-seven years later, when they took Lipara from the Carthaginians, they relieved the descendants of Timasitheiis of the payment of taxes and gave them freedom.

94. When the year had ended, in Athens Philocles 392 B.C. became archon, and in Rome the consular magistracy was assumed by six military tribunes, Publius and Cornelius, Caeso Fabius, Lucius Furius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Valerius 1; and this year the Ninety-seventh Olympiad was celebrated, that in which Terires was victor.2 In this year the Athenians chose Thrasybulus general and sent him to sea with forty triremes. He sailed to Ionia, collected funds from the allies, and proceeded on his way; and while tarrying at the Chersonesus he made allies of Medocus and Seuthes, the kings of the Thracians. After some time he sailed from the Hellespont to Lesbos and anchored off the coast at Eresus. But strong winds arose and twenty-three triremes were lost. Getting off safe with the other ships he advanced against the cities of Lesbos, with the intention of winning them over; for they had all revolted with the exception of Mitylenê. First he appeared before Methymna and joined battle with the men of the city, who were commanded by the Spartan Therimachus. In a brilliant fight he slew not only Therimachus himself but no small number of the Methymnaeans and shut up the rest of them within their walls; he also

<sup>2</sup> In the "stadion."

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τὴν τοῦ Τιμασιθέου καλοκάγαθίαν, παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐτίμησε δημόσιον δοὺς. κατάλυμα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ἐπτὰ τὴν Λιπάραν ἀφελόμενος τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοὺς ἐγγόνους τοῦ Τιμασιθέου τῶν τε εἰσφορῶν ἀτελεῖς ἀφῆκε καὶ

έλευθέρους ἐποίησεν.

94. Έπεὶ δ' ὁ ἐνιαύσιος διεληλύθει χρόνος, 'Αθήνησι μεν ήρχε Φιλοκλής, εν 'Ρώμη δε την ύπατικήν άρχην μετέλαβον εξ χιλίαρχοι, Πόπλιος και Κορνήλιος, Καίσων Φάβιος, Λεύκιος Φούριος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Μάρκος Οὐαλέριος ήχθη δὲ καὶ 'Ολυμπιας κατά τουτον τον ένιαυτον έβδομη προς ταις 2 ἐνενήκοντα, καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα Τερίρης. κατὰ δὲ τούτους τους χρόνους 'Αθηναίοι στρατηγόν έλόμενοι Θρασύβουλον έξέπεμψαν μετά τριήρων τετταράκοντα. οὖτος δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Ἰωνίαν καὶ χρήματα λαβών παρά τῶν συμμάχων ἀνέζευξε, καὶ διατρίβων περί Χερρόνησον Μήδοκον και Σεύθην τους 3 τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλεῖς συμμάχους ἐποιήσατο. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον έξ Έλλησπόντου πλεύσας είς Λέσβον ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὴν "Ερεσον αἰγιαλῷ καθώρμει. έπιγενομένων δε πνευμάτων μεγάλων εἴκοσι μεν καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις διεφθάρησαν μετὰ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν διασωθείς επήει τας κατά την Λεσβον πόλεις προσαγόμενος άφειστήκεισαν γάρ πασαι πλήν 4 Μιτυλήνης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Μέθυμναν παραγενόμενος ἐπισυνήψε μάχην τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὧν ἦρχε Θηρίμαχος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης. ἀγωνισάμενος δε λαμπρώς αὐτόν τε τον Θηρίμαχον ἀνεῖλε καὶ τῶν Μεθυμναίων οὐκ ὀλίγους, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς συνέκλεισεν έντὸς τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν 1 καθ' added by Dindorf.

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Μεθυμναίων χώραν ἔφθειρε, τὴν δ' Ἔρεσον καὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καθ' δμολογίαν παρέλαβεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρά τε Χίων καὶ Μιτυληναίων συμμάχων

άθροίσας ναῦς ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ 'Ρόδον.

. 95. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ βραδέως έαυτοὺς ἐκ τῆς περὶ Συρακούσας συμφορας αναλαβόντες, έγνωσαν αντέχεσθαι τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν πραγμάτων. κρίναντες δέ διαγωνίζεσθαι, ναυσί μεν μακραῖς ολίγαις διέβησαν, δύναμιν δὲ συνήγαγον ἀπό τε Λιβύης καὶ Σαρδοῦς, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας βαρβάρων. πάντας δ' ἐπιμελῶς καθοπλίσαντες μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας χορηγίας ἐπεραιώθησαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους όντες των όκτω μυριάδων, ων ήγειτο Μάγων. 2 οὖτος μὲν οὖν διὰ Σικελῶν πορευθείς, καὶ τὰς πλείστας πόλεις αποστήσας τοῦ Διονυσίου, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν έν τῆ τῶν ᾿Αγυριναίων χώρα παρὰ τον Χρύσαν ποταμον έγγυς της όδου της φερούσης είς Μοργαντίναν τους γάρ 'Αγυριναίους ου δυνάμενος είς συμμαχίαν προσλαβέσθαι, τῆς είς τοὔμπροσθεν ἀπέστη πορείας, ἀκούων τους πολεμίους έκ Συρακουσών ώρμηκέναι.

3 Διονύσιος δὲ πυθόμενος τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ τῆς μεσογείου τὴν πορείαν ποιουμένους, ταχὺ συλλέξας οὖς ἠδύνατο τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων ὥρμησε, τοὺς πάντας ἔχων οὖκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς "Αγυριν τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν 'Αγυριναίων. οὖτος δὲ τῶν τότε τυράννων τῶν ἐν Σικελία μεγίστην εἶχε δύναμιν μετὰ Διονύσιον τῶν τε² γὰρ περικειμένων ἐρυμάτων σχεδὸν

ravaged the territory of the Methymnaeans and re- 892 B.C. ceived the surrender of Eresus and Antissa. After this he gathered ships from the Chian and Mitylenaean allies and sailed to Rhodes.

95. The Carthaginians, after a slow recovery from the disaster they had suffered at Syracuse,1 resolved to keep their hand in Sicilian affairs. Having decided upon war, they crossed over with only a few warships, but brought together troops from Libya and Sardinia as well as from the barbarians of Italy. The soldiers were all carefully supplied with equipment to which they were accustomed and brought over to Sicily, being no less than eighty thousand in number and under the command of Magon. This commander accordingly made his way through the Siceli, detaching most of the cities from Dionysius, and went into camp in the territory of the Agyrinaeans 2 on the banks of the Chrysas River near the road that leads to Morgantina. For since he was unable to bring the Agyrinaeans to enter an alliance with him, he refrained from marching farther, since he had news that the enemy had set out from Syracuse.

Dionysius, on learning that the Carthaginians were making their way through the interior, speedily collected as many Syracusans and mercenaries as he could and set forth, having in all not less than twenty thousand soldiers. When he came near the enemy he sent an embassy to Agyris, the lord of the Agyrinaeans. This man possessed the strongest armament of any of the tyrants of Sicily at that time after Dionysius, since he was lord of practically all

<sup>1</sup> Cp. chap. 75. <sup>2</sup> Agyrium was the birthplace of Diodorus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Hertlein : ἐπέστη.

² τε Eichstädt : τότε.

άπάντων ἐκυρίευε¹ καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ᾿Αγυριναίων ήρχε πολυοχλουμένης κατ᾽ ἐκείνους τοὺς καιρούς. 5 εἶχε γὰρ πολίτας οἰκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων. ἦν δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ πόλει συνηθροισμένον² χρημάτων πολλῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παράθεσις, ἣν Ἦχυρις ἠθροίκει πεφονευκὼς τοὺς 6 εὐπορωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν. ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Διονύσιος μετ᾽ ὀλίγων³ εἰσελθὼν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἔπεισε τὸν Ἅγυριν συμμαχῆσαι γνησίως, καὶ πολλὴν ἐπηγγείλατο χώραν τῆς ὁμόρου δωρήσεσθαι⁴ κατ-7 ορθωθέντος τοῦ πολέμου. ὁ δ᾽ Ἅγυρις πρῶτον μὲν πάσῃ τῇ Διονυσίου δυνάμει σῖτον καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἦν χρεία προθύμως ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ πανδημεὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξαγαγὼν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ Διονυσίου καὶ κοινῇ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους διεπολέμει.

96. Μάγων δ' εν πολεμία χώρα στρατοπεδεύων, καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεὴς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον γινόμενος, οὐ μετρίως ἠλαττοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν "Αγυριν τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροι καθεστῶτες ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπλεονέκτουν καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφη-2 ροῦντο. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων διὰ μάχης κρίνειν ὡς τάχιστα τὰ πράγματα, Διονύσιος ἡναντιοῦτο λέγων χωρὶς κινδύνων τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῆ σπάνει καταφθαρήσεσθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους· ἐφ' οἶς παροργισθέντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι κατέλιπον τὸν Διο-3 νύσιον. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐλαβούμενος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν ἐκάλει τοὺς οἰκέτας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διαπρεσβευσαμένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης ὑπακούσας ἀναπομπίμους τοῖς κυρίοις ἐποίησε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  So Eichstädt : ἐκυρίευσε.  $^{2}$  So Rhodoman : συνηθροισμένων.

the neighbouring fortified communities and ruled the 392 B.C. city of the Agyrinaeans which was well peopled at that time, for it had no less than twenty thousand citizens. There was also laid up on the acropolis for this multitude which had been gathered together in the city a large store of money which Agyris had collected after he had murdered the wealthiest citizens. But Dionysius, after entering the city with a small company, persuaded Agyris to join him as a genuine ally and promised to make him a present of a large portion of neighbouring territory if the war ended successfully. At the outset, then, Agyris readily provided the entire army of Dionysius with food and whatever else it needed, led forth his troops in a body, joined with Dionysius in the campaign, and fought together with him in the war against the Carthaginians.

96. Magon, since he was encamped in hostile territory and was ever more and more in want of supplies, was at no little disadvantage; for the troops of Agyris, being familiar with the territory, held the advantage in laying ambushes and were continually cutting off the enemy's supplies. The Syracusans were for deciding the issue by battle as soon as possible, but Dionysius opposed them, saying that time and want would ruin the barbarians without fighting. Provoked to anger at this the Syracusans deserted him. In his first concern Dionysius proclaimed freedom for the slaves, but later, when the Carthaginians sent embassies to discuss peace, he negotiated with them, sent back the slaves to their masters, and made peace with the Carthaginians. The conditions

<sup>3</sup> So Rhodoman: ολίγον.

<sup>4</sup> So Dindorf: δωρήσασθαι.

4 ήσαν δ' αί¹ συνθήκαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραπλήσιαι ταῖς πρότερον, Σικελοὺς δὲ δεῖν ὑπὸ Διονύσιον τετάχθαι καὶ παραλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τὸ Ταυρομένιον. μετὰ δὲ τὰς συνθήκας Μάγων μὲν ἀπέπλευσε, Διονύσιος δὲ παραλαβών τὸ Ταυρομένιον τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν ἐκεῖ Σικελῶν ἐξέβαλεν, τῶν δ' ιδίων μισθοφόρων τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐπιλέξας κατώκισεν.

5 Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι Φαλίσκον πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ

Φαλίσκων έθνους έξεπόρθησαν.

97. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μεν ην ἄρχων Νικοτέλης, εν 'Ρώμη δε την υπατικήν άρχην διώκουν χιλίαρχοι τρείς, Μάρκος Φούριος, Γάιος Αἰμίλιος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων οι λακωνίζοντες των 'Ροδίων επαναστάντες τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς τὰ τῶν ἀθηναίων φρονοῦντας 2 έξέβαλον έκ της πόλεως. συνδραμόντων δ' αὐτῶν έν τοις οπλοις και πειρωμένων αντέχεσθαι των πραγμάτων, ἐπεκράτησαν οί Λακεδαιμονίοις² συμμαχοῦντες, καὶ πολλούς μεν εφόνευσαν, τούς δε διαφυγόντας έξεκήρυξαν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις απέστειλαν είς Λακεδαίμονα περί βοηθείας, εύλα-3 βούμενοι μή τινες τῶν πολιτῶν νεωτερίσωσιν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπέστειλαν έπτὰ τριήρεις καὶ τοὺς ἀφηγησομένους τῶν πραγμάτων τρεῖς άνδρας, Εὐδόκιμον καὶ Φιλόδοκον καὶ Διφίλαν. οθτοι δὲ πρώτον εἰς Σάμον κομισθέντες ἀπέστησαν την πόλιν 'Αθηναίων, έπειτα καταπλεύσαντες είς 'Ρόδον τῶν ἐνταῦθα πραγμάτων εἶχον τὴν ἐπι-4 μέλειαν, οί δε Λακεδαιμόνιοι, προγωρούντων αὐwere like the former <sup>1</sup> except that the Siceli were <sup>392</sup> <sup>B.O.</sup> to be subject to Dionysius and that he was to receive Tauromenium. After the conclusion of the treaty Magon sailed off, and Dionysius, on taking possession of Tauromenium, banished most of the Siceli who were in it and selected and settled there the most suitable members of his own mercenary troops.

Such was the state of affairs in Sicily; and in Italy the Romans pillaged the city of Faliscus of the tribe

of the Falisci.

97. At the close of this year, in Athens Nicoteles 391 B.C. was archon, and in Rome the consular magistracy was administered by three military tribunes, Marcus Furius and Gaius Aemilius.<sup>2</sup> After these magistrates had entered office, the philo-Lacedaemonians among the Rhodians rose up against the party of the people and expelled from the city the partisans of the Athenians. When these banded together under arms and endeavoured to maintain their interests, the allies of the Lacedaemonians got the upper hand, slaughtered many, and formally banished those who escaped. They also at once sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon to get aid, fearing that some of the citizens would rise in revolt. The Lacedaemonians dispatched to them seven triremes and three men to take charge of affairs, Eudocimus,3 Philodocus, and Diphilas. They first reached Samos and brought that city over from the Athenians, and then they put in at Rhodes and assumed the oversight of affairs there. The Lacedaemonians, now that their affairs were

See Book 13. 114. 1.
 Livy (5. 26) gives six names including these two.
 Called Ecdicus in Xenophon, Hell. 4. 8. 20.

<sup>1</sup> δ' αί Eichstädt : δέ.
2 So Wesseling : Λακεδαιμόνιοι.

τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔγνωσαν ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐκράτουν τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντες ναυτικόν. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν εἴς τε Σάμον καὶ Κνίδον καὶ 'Ρόδον κατέπλευσαν, καὶ πανταχόθεν ναῦς τε καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους καταγράφοντες¹ ἐπιβάτας ἐξήρτυον πολυτελῶς τριήρεις εἴκοσιν ἑπτά.

΄ Άγησίλαος δ΄ ό τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, ἀκούων τοὺς ᾿Αργείους περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον διατρίβοντας, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πανδημεὶ πλὴν μιᾶς μόρας. ἐπελθὼν δὲ τὴν ᾿Αργείαν πᾶσαν τὰς μὲν κτήσεις διήρπασεν, τὴν δὲ χώραν δενδρο-

τομήσας είς την Σπάρτην ἀπεχώρησεν.

98. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κύπρον Εὐαγόρας ὁ Σαλαμίνιος, ὃς ἦν μὲν εὐγενέστατος, τῶν γὰρ κτισάντων τὴν πόλιν ἦν ἀπόγονος, πεφευγὼς δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις διά τινας στάσεις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατελθὼν μετ' ὀλίγων, τὸν μὲν δυναστεύοντα τῆς πόλεως 'Αβδήμονα τὸν Τύρσιον² ἐξέβαλε, φίλον ὄντα τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν κατασχὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, μεγίστης οὔσης καὶ δυνατωτάτης τῶν ἐν Κύπρω πόλεων ταχὺ δὲ χρημάτων³ πολλῶν εὐπορήσας καὶ δύναμιν προχειρισάμενος ἐπεχείρησεν ἄπασαν 2 τὴν νῆσον σφετερίσασθαι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἃς μὲν βία χειρωσάμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῦ προσλαβόμενος, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων πόλεων ταχὺ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέλαβεν, 'Αμαθούσιοι δὲ καὶ Σόλιοι καὶ Κιτιεῖς ἀντ-

So Vogel: κατέγραφον. <sup>2</sup> So Rhodoman: Τύριον. <sup>3</sup> πλῆθος after χρημάτων deleted by Dindorf.

prospering, resolved to get control of the sea, and 391 B.C. after gathering a naval force they again little by little began to get the upper hand over their allies. So they put in at Samos and Cnidus and Rhodes; and gathering ships from every place and enrolling the choicest marines, they equipped lavishly twenty-seven triremes.

Agesilaüs,¹ the king of the Lacedaemonians, on hearing that the Argives were engaged about Corinth, led forth the Lacedaemonians in full force with the exception of one regiment. He visited every part of Argolis, pillaged the homesteads, cut down the trees over the countryside, and then returned to

Sparta.

98. In Cyprus Evagoras of Salamis, who was of most noble birth, since he was descended from the founders of the city, but had previously been banished because of some factional quarrels and had later returned in company with a small group, drove out Abdemon of Tyre, who was lord of the city and a friend of the King of the Persians. When he took control of the city, Evagoras was at first king only of Salamis, the largest and strongest of the cities of Cyprus; but when he soon acquired great resources and mobilized an army, he set out to make the whole island his own. Some of the cities he subdued by force and others he won over by persuasion. While he easily gained control of the other cities, the peoples of Amathus,

110. 5; Book 15. 2-4, 8-9, 47), this distinguished king and faithful friend of Athens is well known from the panegyric bearing his name composed by Isocrates about 365 B.c.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This was more likely Agesipolis (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4. 7. 3). <sup>2</sup> Evagoras traced his ancestry to Tencer, the founder of Salamis (Pausanias, 1. 3. 2; 8. 15. 7). In addition to the further facts of Evagoras' career given by Diodorus (chap. 110. 5; Book 15. 2-4, 8-9, 47), this distinguished king and

έχοντες τῷ πολέμῳ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς 'Αρταξέρξην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα περὶ βοηθείας καὶ τοῦ μὲν Εὐαγόρου κατηγόρουν, ὅτι τὸν "Αγυριν βασιλέα σύμμαχον όντα Περσῶν ἀνεῖλε, την δε νησον ώμολόγησαν αὐτῷ συγκατακτήσασθαι. 3 ο δε βασιλεύς, οὐ βουλόμενος άμα μεν τον Εὐαγόραν έπὶ πλεῖον προκόπτειν, ἄμα δὲ διανοούμενος τὴν Κύπρον εὐφυῶς είναι κειμένην καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλην έχειν, ή δυνήσεται προπολεμείν της 'Ασίας, έκρινε συμμαχείν, καὶ τούτους μέν έξέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἀφηγουμένους τῶν πόλεων σατράπας ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὰς ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν στόλον χρήσιμα ὄντα κατὰ σπουδήν παρασκευάζεσθαι, Έκατόμνω δε τώ Καρίας δυ-4 νάστη προσέταξε πολεμείν τῷ Εὐαγόρα. οὖτος3 δὲ τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις πόλεις ἐπιπορευόμενος μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι διαβαίνει είς τὴν Κύπρον.

5 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν 'Ρωμαῖοι πρὸς Φαλίσκους εἰρήνην ποιησάμενοι, πρὸς δὲ Αἰκίκλους⁴ πόλεμον τὸ τέταρτον, καὶ Σούτριον μὲν ϣκισαν,⁵ ἐκ δὲ Οὐερρηγῖνος

πόλεως ύπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐξεβλήθησαν.

99. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ῆρχε Δημόστρατος, ἐν 'Ρώμη δ' ὕπατοι τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειλήφεισαν Λεύκιος Λουκρήτιος καὶ Σερουίλιος. κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους 'Αρταξέρξης μὲν Στρούθαν στρατηγὸν κατέπεμμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν μετὰ δυνάμεως Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμήσοντα, Σπαρτιᾶται δὲ τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ πυθό-

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> εἶναι κειμένην Vogel, omitted A, διακειμένην cet.
 <sup>2</sup> δύνασθαι after δύναμιν deleted by Reiske.

Soli, and Citium resisted him with arms and dispatched and B. C. ambassadors to Artaxerxes the King of the Persians to get his aid. They accused Evagoras of having slain King Agyris, an ally of the Persians, and promised to join the King in acquiring the island for him. The King, not only because he did not wish Evagoras to grow any stronger, but also because he appreciated the strategic position of Cyprus and its great naval strength whereby it would be able to protect Asia in front, decided to accept the alliance. He dismissed the ambassadors and for himself sent letters to the cities situated on the sea and to their commanding satraps to construct triremes and with all speed to make ready everything the fleet might need; and he commanded Hecatomnus, the ruler of Caria, to make war upon Evagoras. Hecatomnus traversed the cities of the upper satrapies and crossed over to Cyprus in strong force.

Such was the state of affairs in Asia. In Italy the Romans concluded peace with the Falisci and waged war for the fourth time on the Aequi; they also sent a colony to Sutrium but were expelled by the enemy

from the city of Verrugo.

99. At the close of this year Demostratus was 390 B.C. archon in Athens, and in Rome the consuls Lucius Lucretius and Servilius 1 took office. At this time Artaxerxes sent Struthas as general to the coast with an army to make war on the Lacedaemonians, and the Spartans, when they learned of his arrival, dis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Servilius Sulpicius Camerinus (Livy, 5. 29).

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: αὐτός.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> So Cluver: Αἰτωλούς.

<sup>5</sup> So Wurm : ἄρμησαν. 6 So Vogel : καταπέμψας ἔπεμψε.

μενοι Θίβρωνα στρατηγόν εἰς τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐξέπεμψαν. δς κατελάβετο χωρίον Ἰονδα καὶ Κόρνισσον ἄρος ὑψηλόν, τῆς Ἐφέσου ἀπέχον σταδίους τετταρά-2 κοντα. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ὀκτακισχιλίους ἔχων στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἀθροισθεῖσιν ἐπήει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως χώραν φθείρων, Στρούθας δὲ σὺν ἴππω τε βαρβαρικῆ πολλῆ καὶ στρατιώταις ὁπλίταις μὲν πεντακισχιλίοις, ψιλοῖς δὲ πλείοσι δισμυρίων, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατ-3 εστρατοπέδευσεν. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Θίβρωνος μετὰ μέρους τῆς δυνάμεως ἐξελθόντος καὶ πολλὴν περιβαλομένου λείαν, ἐπελθών ὁ Στρούθας τόν τε Θίβρωνα μαχόμενον ἀνεῖλε, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐζώγρησεν, ὀλίγοι δ᾽ εἰς τὸ Κνιδίνιον φρούριον διεσώθησαν.

4 Θρασύβουλος δ' δ τῶν 'Αθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἐκ τῆς Λέσβου κομιζόμενος μετὰ τοῦ στόλου πρὸς "Ασπενδον, ὥρμισε τὰς τριήρεις εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. χρήματα δ' εἰληφότος αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῶν 'Ασπενδίων, ὅμως τινὲς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐδήωσαν τὴν χώραν. γενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν 'Ασπένδιοι χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ἐπέθεντο τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις καὶ τόν τε Θρασύβουλον καί τινας τῶν ἄλλων ἀνεῖλαν οἱ δὲ τῶν 'Αθηναίων τριήραρχοι περιδεεῖς γενόμενοι καὶ ταχὺ πληρώσαντες τὰς ναῦς, εἰς 'Ρόδον ἐξέπλευσαν. ἀφεστηκυίας δὲ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν φυγάδων φρούριόν τι κατειληφότων, μετὰ τούτων διεπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι πυθόμενοι τὴν Θρασυβούλου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτήν, 'Αγύριον στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

patched Thibron as general to Asia. Thibron seized 300 B.C. the stronghold of Ionda and a high mountain, Cornissus, I forty stades from Ephesus. He then advanced with eight thousand soldiers together with the troops gathered from Asia, pillaging the King's territory. Struthas, with a strong force of barbarian cavalry, five thousand hoplites, and more than twenty thousand light-armed troops, pitched his camp not far from the Lacedaemonians. Eventually, when Thibron once set out with a detachment of his troops and had seized much booty, Struthas attacked and slew him in battle, killed the larger number of his troops, and took captive others. A few found safety in Cnidinium, an outpost.

Thrasybulus, the Athenian general, went with his fleet from Lesbos to Aspendus and moored his triremes in the Eurymedon River. Although he had received contributions from the Aspendians, some of the soldiers, nevertheless, pillaged the countryside. When night came, the Aspendians, angered at such unfairness, attacked the Athenians and slew both Thrasybulus and a number of the others; whereupon the captains of the Athenian vessels, greatly alarmed, speedily manned the ships and sailed off to Rhodes. Since this city was in revolt, they joined the exiles who had seized a certain outpost and waged war on the men who held the city. When the Athenians learned of the death of their general Thrasybulus, they sent out Agyrius as general.

Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

<sup>1</sup> Ionda should be Isinda, and Cornissus is more likely Solmissus; so B. D. Meritt, Athenian Tribute Lists, p. 493.

<sup>1</sup> Κόρνισσον P.

100. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος Διονύσιος σπεύδων τῆ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον δυναστεία καὶ τοὺς κατ' Ἰταλίαν ελληνας προσλαβέσθαι, την μεν έπ' εκείνους κοινήν στρατείαν είς έτερον καιρον ανεβάλετο, κρίνας δε συμφέρειν έπιχειρείν πρώτη τῆ τῶν 'Ρηγίνων πόλει διὰ τὸ προπολεμητήριον αὐτὴν είναι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὥρμησεν 2 έκ Συρακουσών μετά της δυνάμεως. είχε δέ πεζούς μεν δισμυρίους, ίππεις δε χιλίους, ναθς δ' έκατον είκοσι. περαιώσας δε την δύναμιν επί τους όρους της Λοκρίδος, ἐκείθεν διὰ της μεσογείου την πορείαν εποιείτο, τέμνων καὶ πυρπολών τὴν τών 'Ρηγίνων χώραν· συμπαρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ στόλος έπὶ θάτερα μέρη τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ πάση τῆ 3 δυνάμει περί τον πορθμον κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οί δ' Ἰταλοὶ πυθόμενοι τὴν τοῦ Διονυσίου διάβασιν έπὶ τὸ 'Ρήγιον, ἀπέστειλαν ἐκ Κρότωνος ναῦς έξήκοντα, σπεύδοντες παραδοῦναι τοῖς 'Ρηγίνοις. μετεώρων δε πλεουσών αὐτών ὁ Διονύσιος πεντήκοντα ναθς έχων ἐπέπλευσε, καὶ φυγόντων αὐτῶν έπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐπέκειτο, καὶ συνδήσας 4 ἀπέσπα τὰς παρορμούσας τῆ γῆ. κινδυνευουσῶν δὲ τῶν έξήκοντα τριήρων άλῶναι 'Ρηγινοι πανδημεὶ παρεβοήθησαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῷ πλήθει τῶν βελών ανειρξαν τον Διονύσιον. ἐπιγενομένων δὲ πνευμάτων μεγάλων οἱ μὲν 'Ρηγῖνοι τὰς ναῦς ἀνείλκυσαν έπὶ τὴν γῆν, Διονύσιος δ' ἰσχυρῶς χει-

So Eichstädt : τὴν . . . δυναστείαν.
So Eichstädt : τῆ θαλάττη.

100. In Sicily Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syra- 890 B.C. cusans, with intent to annex the Greeks of Italy as well to the overlordship that he held in the island, postponed the general war against them to another time. He judged rather that it was good policy to attack first the city of the Rhegians, because it was the advanced bastion of Italy, and so set out from Syracuse with his army. He had twenty thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and one hundred and twenty ships of war. He crossed with his troops to the borders of Locris and from there made his way through the interior, cutting down the trees and burning and destroying the territory of the Rhegians. His fleet sailed along to the other districts 1 upon the sea and he encamped with his entire army at the Strait. When the Italians learned that Dionysius had crossed the sea to attack Rhegium, they dispatched sixty ships from Croton, with intent to hand them over to the Rhegians. While this fleet was cruising on the high sea, Dionysius sailed against them with fifty ships, and when the fleet fled to land, he pressed his attack no less vigorously and began to make fast and haul off the ships that were lying off-shore. Since the sixty triremes were in danger of being captured, the Rhegians came to their aid in full force and held Dionysius off from the land by the multitude of their missiles. When a heavy storm arose, the Rhegians hauled up the ships high and dry on the land, but Dionysius lost seven ships in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> i.e. of Rhegian territory not touched by Dionysius who was advancing through the interior. But the Greek is suspect.

<sup>3</sup> So Eichstädt: ἔπλευσε.
4 ἐν after παρορμούσας deleted by Post.

μασθεὶς ἐπτὰ ναῦς ἀπώλεσε καὶ σὺν αὐταῖς ἄνδρας 5 οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων πεντακοσίων. τούτων δ' ἄμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκβρασθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρηγίνην, οἱ 'Ρηγίνοι πολλοὺς τῶν ναυτῶν ἐζώγρησαν. Διονύσιος δ' ἐπὶ πεντήρους πλέων καὶ πολλάκις παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθὼν ὑποβρύχιος, μόγις περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὸν ἐν Μεσσήνη λιμένα κατέφυγεν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῆς χειμερινῆς ὥρας ἐνισταμένης οὖτος μὲν πρὸς Λευκανοὺς συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπήγαγε τὰς

δυνάμεις είς Συρακούσας.

101. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λευκανῶν τὴν Θουρίαν καταδραμόντων οί Θούριοι παρήγγειλαν τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τάχος ἀπαντᾶν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων αί γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις ἐν² ταῖς συνθήκαις εἶχον οὕτως, ἵν' ἤτις ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν λεηλατηθῆ χώρα, πρὸς ταύτην ἄπαντες παραβοηθῶσιν ής δ' ἂν πόλεως μὴ καταστῆ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, τεθνάναι τοὺς ἐκεί-2 νης τῆς πόλεως στρατηγούς. διόπερ τῶν Θουρίων τοὺς βιβλιαφόρους ἀποστειλάντων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρουσίαν, ἄπαντες παρεσκευάζοντο προς την ανάζευξιν. αὐτοὶ δὲ προεξαναστάντες ταις δρμαίς και το των συμμάχων πληθος οὐκ ἀναμείναντες, ἀνέζευξαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λευκανούς, έχοντες πεζούς μέν πλείους τῶν μυρίων τετρα-3 κισχιλίων, ίππεις δε σχεδόν χιλίους. και Λευκανοί μεν ακούσαντες την των πολεμίων εφοδον απεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν οἱ δὲ Θούριοι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λευκανίαν, τὸ μὲν πρώτον φρούριον έξειλον, καὶ πολλής ώφελείας κυριεύσαντες καθαπερεί δέλεαρ έλαβον της έαυτων heavy gale and together with them no fewer than 390 B.C. fifteen hundred men. Since the sailors were cast ashore together with their ships on Rhegian territory, many of them were taken prisoner by the Rhegians. Dionysius, who was on a quinquereme and many times narrowly escaped foundering, about midnight barely found safety in the harbour of Messenê. Since the winter season had already come, he drew up terms of alliance with the Leucani and led his forces back to Syracuse.

101. After this, when the Leucanians overran the territory of Thurii, the Thurians sent word to their allies to gather to them speedily under arms. the Greek cities of Italy had an agreement among themselves to the effect that if any city's territory was being plundered by the Leucanians, they should all come to its aid, and that if any city's army did not take up a position to give aid, the generals of that city should be put to death. Consequently, when the Thurians dispatched messengers to the cities to tell of the approach of the enemy, they all made ready to march. But the Thurians, who were first off the mark in their actions, did not wait for the troops of their allies, but set forth against the Leucanians with above fourteen thousand infantry and about one thousand cavalry. The Leucanians, on hearing of the approach of the enemy, withdrew to their own territory, and the Thurians, falling in haste upon Leucania, captured the first outpost and gathered much booty, thus taking the bait, as it were, for their own de-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τε after ἐν deleted by Reiske.

ἀπωλείας. φρονηματισθέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ προτερήματι καταπεφρονηκότως διά τινων στενῶν καὶ ἀποκρήμνων όδῶν ἐπορεύθησαν, βουλόμενοι Λᾶον ἐπόλιν εὐδαίμονα πολιορκῆσαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρεγενήθησαν εἴς τι πεδίον κύκλῳ λόφοις ὑψηλοῖς καὶ κρημνοῖς περιειλημμένον, ἐνταῦθα οἱ Λευκανοὶ πάση τῆ δυνάμει διέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανόδου.¹ παράδοξον δ' ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ καὶ φανερὰν² ποιήσαντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐξέπληξαν τοὺς Ἦληνας διά τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν τῶν τόπων δυσχωρίαν· εἶχον γὰρ Λευκανοὶ τότε πεζοὺς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων.

102. Τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀνελπίστως τηλικούτω περιεχομένων κινδύνω, κατέβαινον εἰς τὸ πεδίον οἱ βάρβαροι. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως, καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν καταπολεμηθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Λευκανῶν, ἔπεσον μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων παρήγγελλον γὰρ οἱ Λευκανοὶ μηθένα ζωγρεῖν τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν ἐπί τινα πρὸς τῆ θαλάσση λόφον ἔφυγον, οἱ δὲ θεωροῦντες ναῦς μακρὰς προσπλεούσας καὶ νομίζοντες τὰς τῶν Ὑηγίνων εἶναι, συνέφυγον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ διενήχοντο ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις. ἦν δὲ ὁ στόλος ὁ προσπλέων Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου, καὶ ναύαρχος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ Λεπτίνης ὁ ἀδελφός, ἀπεσταλμένος τοῖς Λευκανοῖς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Λεπτίνης δεξάμενος φιλανθρώπως τοὺς νηχομένους ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπεβίβασε καὶ ἔπεισε τοὺς Λευκανοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου τῶν

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  ἐπανόδου Wesseling : ἐλπίδα Α, ἐλπίδος cet.  $^2$  καὶ φανερὰν deleted by Vogel ; καὶ φοβερὰν Reiske.  $^3$  ὁ στόλος ὁ Dindorf : ὁ στόλος.

struction. For having become puffed with pride at 390 B C. their success, they advanced with light concern through some narrow and sheer paths, in order to lay siege to the prosperous city of Laüs. When they had arrived at a certain plain surrounded by lofty hills and precipitous cliffs, thereupon the Leucanians with their entire army cut them off from retreat to their native soil. Making their appearance, which was quite unexpected and unconcealed, on the height, they filled the Greeks with dismay, both because of the great size of the army and because of the difficulty of the terrain; for the Leucanians had at the time thirty thousand infantry and no less than four thousand cavalry.

102. When the Greeks were to their surprise caught in such hopeless peril as we have described, the barbarians descended into the plain. A battle took place and there fell of the Italian Greeks, overwhelmed as they were by the multitude of the Leucanians, more than ten thousand men, since the Leucanians gave orders to save no one alive. Of the survivors some fled to a height on the sea, and others, seeing warships sailing toward them and thinking they belonged to the Rhegians, fled in a body to the sea and swam out to the triremes. The approaching fleet belonged to Dionysius the tyrant, under command of his brother Leptines, and had been sent to the aid of the Leucanians. Leptines received the swimmers kindly, set them on land, and persuaded the Leucanians to accept a mina 1 of silver for each

αἰχμαλώτων λαβεῖν ἀργυρίου μνᾶν· οὖτοι δ' ἦσαν 3 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς χιλίους. γενόμενος δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἐγγυητὴς καὶ διαλλάξας τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας τοῖς Λευκανοῖς ἔπεισεν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις, συμφερόντως αὐτῷ,¹ οὐ λυσιτελῶς δὲ Διονυσίῳ συντεθεικὼς τὸν πόλεμον. ἤλπιζε γὰρ ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν πολεμούντων πρὸς Λευκανοὺς ἐπελθὼν ῥαδίως ἄν κρατῆσαι τῶν κατ' Ἰταλίαν πραγμάτων, ἀπολελυμένων δὲ τηλικούτου πολέμου δυσχερῶς ἄν περιγενέσθαι.² διόπερ τοῦτον μὲν ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ναυαρχίας, Θεαρίδην δὲ τὸν ἔτερον ἀδελφὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ στόλου κατέστησεν.

4 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων 'Ρωμαῖοι τὴν τῶν Οὐεξίων χώραν κατεκληρούχησαν, κατ' ἄνδρα δόντες
πλέθρα τέτταρα, ὡς δὲ τινες, εἴκοσι ὀκτώ· καὶ πρὸς
μὲν Αἰκούσους διαπολεμοῦντες Λίφλον πόλιν κατὰ
κράτος εἶλον, Οὐελιτρίνων δ' ἀποστάντων πόλεμον
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνεστήσαντο. ἀπέστη δὲ καὶ Σάτρικον
ἀπὸ 'Ρωμαίων, καὶ εἰς Κερκίους ἀποικίαν ἀπέστει-

λαν.

103. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχεν 'Αντίπατρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ 'Ρώμῃ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διώκουν Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Αὖλος Μάλλιος. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων δυνάστης φανερῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀναδείξας ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ιταλίαν στρατευσόμενον, μετὰ πλείστης δυνάμεως ὥρμησεν ἀπὸ<sup>3</sup> Συρακου-2 σῶν. εἶχε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων,

<sup>1</sup> Post suggests αὖτοῖς, "to their advantage."

captive, the number of whom was over a thousand, 200 B.C. Leptines went surety for the ransom money, reconciled the Italian Greeks with the Leucanians, and persuaded them to conclude peace. He won great acclaim among the Italian Greeks, having settled the war, as he had, to his own advantage, but without any profit to Dionysius. For Dionysius hoped that, if the Italian Greeks were embroiled in war with the Leucanians, he might appear and easily make himself master of affairs in Italy, but if they were rid of such a dangerous war, his success would be difficult. Consequently he relieved Leptines of his command <sup>1</sup> and appointed Thearides, his other brother, commander of the fleet.

Subsequent to these events the Romans portioned out in allotments the territory of the Veians, giving each holder four plethra, but according to other accounts, twenty-eight.<sup>2</sup> The Romans were at war with the Aequi and took by storm the city of Liphlus <sup>3</sup>; and they began war upon the people of Velitrae, who had revolted. Satricum also revolted from the Romans; and they dispatched a colony to Cercii.

103. When the year had ended, in Athens Anti-283 B.C. pater was archon, and in Rome Lucius Valerius and Aulus Mallius administered the consular magistracy. This year Dionysius, the lord of the Syracusans, openly indicated his design of an attack on Italy and set forth from Syracuse with a most formidable force. He had more than twenty thousand infantry, some

of an acre. 3 Otherwise unknown.

Leptines later went into exile for a time with the Thurians, who naturally showed him every courtesy (Book 15. 7. 3-4).
 A plethrum is 10,000 sq. ft., slightly less than one-quarter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Wesseling: παραγενέσθαι.
<sup>3</sup> So Rhodoman: ἐπί.

ίππεις δὲ περὶ τρισχιλίους, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, τὰς δὲ τὸν σίτον κομιζούσας οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων. πεμπταίος δὲ κατανύσας εἰς τὴν Μεσσήνην αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πόλει τὴν δύναμιν ἀνελάμβανε, Θεαρίδην δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τὰς Λιπαραίων νήσους ἀπέστειλε μετὰ νεῶν τριάκοντα πεπυσμένος γὰρ ἢν δέκα ναῦς τῶν 'Ρηγίνων περὶ 3 ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους οὔσας. ὁ δὲ Θεαρίδης ἐκπλεύσας καὶ καταλαβών τὴν 'Ρηγίνων δεκαναΐαν ἔν τισιν εὐθέτοις τόποις, αὐτάνδρων τῶν σκαφῶν ἐκυρίευσε καὶ ταχέως εἰς Μεσσήνην πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπέστρεψε. Διονύσιος δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους εἰς δεσμὰ καταθέμενος τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἔδωκε φυλάττειν, αὐτὸς δὲ περαιώσας τὴν δύναμιν εἰς Καυλωνίαν περιεστρατοπέδευσε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς προσερείσας πυκνὰς προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο.

4 Οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ελληνες ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὰς τοῦ Διονυσίου δυνάμεις περαιουμένας τὸν διείργοντα πορθμόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατόπεδα συνήθροιζον. τῆς δὲ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλεως μάλιστα πολυοχλουμένης καὶ πλείστους ἐχούσης Συρακοσίους φυγάδας, τούτοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πολέμου παρέδωκαν οἱ δὲ Κροτωνιᾶται τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες στρατηγὸν Ελωριν τὸν Συρακόσιον εἴλοντο. οὖτος δὲ πεφευγὼς Διονύσιον καὶ δοκῶν τόλμαν ἔχειν ἔμπρακτον, πιστότατα πρὸς τὸν τύραννον πολεμήσειν διὰ τὸ μισος ὑπείληπτο. ὡς δὲ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι παρεγενήθησαν εἰς Κρότωνα, κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προαίρεσιν Ελωρις διατάξας ὥρμησε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Καυλωνίας. 6 ἄμα γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν ἐπιφανεὶς λύσειν τὴν πολιορκίαν,

1 καὶ after Κρότωνα deleted by Reiske.

three thousand cavalry, forty ships of war, and not 380 p.c. less than three hundred vessels transporting food supplies. On arriving at Messenê on the fifth day he rested his troops in the city, while he dispatched his brother Thearides with thirty ships to the islands of the Liparaeans, since he had learned that ten ships of the Rhegians were in those waters. Thearides, sailing forth and coming upon the ten Rhegian ships in a place favourable to his purpose, seized the ships together with their crews and speedily returned to Dionysius at Messenê. Dionysius threw the prisoners in chains and turned them over to the custody of the Messenians; then he transported his army to Caulonia, laid siege to the city, advanced his siegeengines, and launched frequent assaults.

When the Greeks of Italy learned that the armaments of Dionysius were starting to move across the strait which separated them, they in turn mustered their forces. Since the city of the Crotoniates was the most heavily populated and had the largest number of exiles from Syracuse, they gave over to them the command of the war, and the people of Croton gathered troops from every quarter and chose as general Heloris the Syracusan. Since this man had been banished by Dionysius and was considered by all to possess action and enterprise, it was believed that he could be best trusted, because of his hatred, to lead a war against the tyrant. When all the allies had gathered in Croton, Heloris disposed them to his liking and advanced with the entire army toward Caulonia. He calculated that he would by his appearance at the same time both relieve the siege and also

άμα δὲ καταπεπονημένους 1 τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ήμέραν προσβολών διαγωνιείσθαι. είχε δὲ τοὺς ἄπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν περὶ δισμυρίους πεντα-κισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους. 104. Διανυσάντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς

όδοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσάντων πρὸς τὸν Ἐλέπορον² ποταμόν, ἀνέζευξεν ὁ Διονύσιος ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ συνήντα τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις. ὁ μèν οὖν "Ελωρις μετά τῶν ἀρίστων πεντακοσίων προηγεῖτο τῆς δυνάμεως, δ δε Διονύσιος έτυχε μεν άπο τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων έστρατοπεδευκώς των έναντίων, διὰ δὲ τῶν κατασκόπων μαθὼν ἐγγὺς ὄντας τοὺς πολεμίους, ὄρθρου τὴν δύναμιν ἐγείρας προ- 2 ἡγαγεν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν. ἄμα δ' ἡμέρα τοῖς περὶ τον Έλωριν ολίγοις οθοιν απαντήσας άφνω προσεμάχετο, καὶ διεσκευασμένην έχων τὴν δύναμιν 3 ἀνοχήν οὐδ' ήντινοῦν ἐδίδου τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ δ' "Ελωρις είς πολλήν έμπεσων άπορίαν, αὐτὸς μὲν μεθ' ών είχεν ύπέστη τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους, τῶν δὲ φίλων τινώς απέστειλεν έπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, έπισπεῦσαι τὰ πλήθη παρακελευόμενος. ὧν ταχέως ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθέν, οἱ μὲν Ἰταλιῶται πυθόμενοι τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ κινδυνεύοντας δρομαΐοι παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, δ δὲ Διονύσιος ἀθρόα τῆ δυνάμει περιχυθεὶς τόν θ' Ελωριν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνισα-4 μένους σχεδὸν ἄπαντας ἀνεῖλε. τῶν δ' Ἰταλιωτῶν σποράδην διὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐκβοηθούντων, οί Σικελιώται τὰς τάξεις διαφυλάττοντες ραδίως τῶν πολεμίων περιεγίνοντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέν τινα χρόνον οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Έλληνες ὑπέμενον τὸν κίνδυνον, καίπερ έαυτων πολλούς όρωντες άναιρου-284

be in combat with the enemy worn out by their daily  $889\,B.C.$  assaults. In all he had about twenty-five thousand

infantry and two thousand cavalry.

104. The Italian Greeks had accomplished the major part of their march and were encamped on the Eleporus River, when Dionysius drew off from the city and advanced to meet them. Now Heloris was in the van of his army with five hundred of his choicest troops and Dionysius, as it happened, was encamped forty stades from the enemy. On learning from his scouts that the enemy was near, he roused his army at early light and led it forward. Meeting at daybreak the troops of Heloris, who were few in number, he engaged them in unexpected battle, and since he had his army ready for combat, he gave the enemy not a moment to recover themselves. Though Heloris found himself in desperate straits, he withstood the attackers with what troops he had, while he sent some of his friends to the camp, urging them to rush up the main body of soldiers. These speedily carried out their orders, and when the Italian Greeks learned of the danger facing their general and his troops, they came to their aid on the run. Meanwhile Dionysius, with his troops in close order, surrounded Heloris and his men and slew them almost to a man, though / they offered a gallant resistance. Since the Italian Greeks in their haste entered the fighting in scattered groups, the Sicilian Greeks, who kept their lines intact, experienced no difficulty in overcoming the enemy. Nevertheless, the Greeks of Italy maintained the fight for some time, although they saw their comrades falling in great numbers. But when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Rhodoman: καταπεπολεμημένους. <sup>2</sup> So Vogel: "Ελωριν.

μένους ώς δὲ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπύθοντο καὶ διὰ τὸν θόρυβον ἀλλήλοις ἐμπίπτοντες ἠλαττοῦντο μεγάλως, τότε δὴ¹ τελέως ἀθυμήσαντες

ἐτράπησαν.

105. Πολλών δ' ἀναιρουμένων ἐν τῆ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τροπη, κατέφυγε τὸ πληθος ἐπί τινα λόφον, έρυμνον μεν όντα προς την πολιορκίαν, άνυδρον δε καὶ δυνάμενον ραδίως ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φυλάττεσθαι. ον ο Διονύσιος περιστρατοπεδεύσας τήν τε ήμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν νύκτα διηγρύπνησεν ἐν τοις ὅπλοις, ἐπιμελῶς ταις φυλακαις χρησάμενος. τῆ δ' ύστεραία διὰ τὸ καθμα καὶ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν οί 2 συμπεφευγότες κακώς ἀπήλλαττον. ἐπικηρυκευσαμένων δ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ παρακαλούντων λύτρα πράξασθαι, οὐ μέτριος έν τοῖς εὐημερήμασι γενόμενος προσέταττεν ἀποθέσθαι τὰ όπλα καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσαι τῷ κρατοῦντι. σκληροῦ δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ὄντος, μέχρι μέν τινος διεκαρτέρουν, ώς δ' ύπο της φυσικης ανάγκης κατεβαροῦντο, παρέδωκαν αύτους περί ογδόην 3 ώραν, ήδη τὰ σώματα παρειμένοι. Διονύσιος δὲ λαβών ράβδον καὶ πατάξας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἡρίθμει τούς καταβαίνοντας αιχμαλώτους, όντας πλείους των μυρίων. και πάντων αὐτοῦ ὑποπτευόντων τὸ θηριώδες, τοὐναντίον ἐφάνη πάντων ἐπιεικέστατος: 4 τούς τε γάρ αἰχμαλώτους ἀφῆκεν αὐτεξουσίους χωρίς λύτρων καί πρός τὰς πλείστας τῶν πόλεων ειρήνην συνθέμενος άφηκεν αὐτονόμους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις επαίνου τυχών ύπο των εθ παθόντων χρυ-

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  So Eichstädt :  $\delta \acute{\epsilon}.$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> μèν suggested by Vogel.

# BOOK XIV. 104. 4-105. 4

they learned of the death of their general, while 380 B.O. being greatly hampered as they fell foul of one another in their confusion, then at last they completely lost

spirit and turned in flight.

105. Many were killed in their rout across the plain; but the main body made a safe retreat to a hill, which was strong enough to withstand a siege but had no water and could be easily contained by the enemy. Dionysius invested the hill and bivouacked under arms that day and through the night, giving careful attention to the watches. The next day the beleagured suffered severely from the heat and lack of water. They then sent a herald to Dionysius inviting him to accept ransom; he, however, did not preserve moderation in his success but ordered them to lay down their arms and put themselves at the disposal of their conqueror. This was a harsh order and they held out for some time; but when they were overborne by physical necessity, they surrendered about the eighth hour, their bodies being now weakened. Dionysius took a staff and struck it on the ground while numbering the prisoners as they descended, and they amounted to more than ten thousand. All men were apprehensive of his brutality, but on the contrary he showed himself most kindly; for he let the prisoners go subject to no authority without ransom, concluded peace with most of the cities, and left them independent. In return for this he received the approval of those he had favoured and was honoured with gold crowns; and

<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: ἀπηλλάττοντο.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> οὐ μέτριος Vogel : οὐ μετρίως. <sup>5</sup> So Wesseling : πράγματος.

σοῖς στεφάνοις ἐτιμήθη, καὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτ' ἔδοξε πράξειν $^{1}$  ἐν τῷ ζῆν κάλλιστον.

106. Έπὶ δὲ 'Ρήγιον ἀναζεύξαντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετά της δυνάμεως παρεσκευασμένου πολιορκείν διά την περί της έπιγαμίας ύβριν, άγωνία πολλή κατεῖχε τοὺς 'Ρηγίνους οὔτε γὰρ συμμάχους οὔτε δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον είχον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ήδεισαν ότι τῆς πόλεως άλούσης οὔτ' ἔλεος οὔτε δέησις 2 αὐτοῖς ἀπελείπετο. διόπερ ἔκριναν ἀποστεῖλαι πρέσβεις τούς δεησομένους μετρίως αὐτοῖς χρήσασθαι καὶ παρακαλέσαι μηδέν περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπέρ 3 ἄνθρωπον βουλεύσασθαι. δ δὲ Διονύσιος τριακόσια τάλαντα πραξάμενος καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας παραλαβών οὔσας έβδομήκοντα, προσέταξεν έκατὸν δμήρους δοθναι. δοθέντων δε πάντων ανέζευξεν έπι Καυλωνίαν. ταύτης δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐνοικοῦντας είς Συρακούσας μετώκισε καὶ πολιτείαν δούς πέντε ἔτη συνεχώρησεν ἀτελεῖς εἶναι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν κατασκάψας<sup>2</sup> τοῖς Λοκροῖς τὴν χώραν τῶν Καυλωνιατῶν έδωρήσατο.

4 'Pωμαῖοι δὲ Λιφοίκουαν πόλιν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Αἰκῶν ἔθνους ἐλόντες, κατὰ τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων εὐχὰς μέγαν ἀγῶνα τῷ Διὶ συνετέλεσαν.

107. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Πυργίων, ἐν δὲ τῆ 'Ρώμη τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν μετέλαβον χιλίαρχοι τέσσαρες, Λεύκιος Λουκρήτιος, Σερούιος Σουλπίκιος, Γάιος Αἰμίλιος

πράξειν A Peir., πράττειν cet., πρᾶξαι Dindorf, Vogel.
 So Eichstädt: καταστρέψας.

## BOOK XIV. 105. 4-107. 1

men believed that this would probably be the finest 389 B.C. act of his life.

106. Dionysius now advanced against Rhegium and prepared to lay siege to the city with his army because of the slight he had received in connection with his offer of marriage.1 Deep distress gripped the Rhegians, since they had neither allies nor an army that was a match for him in battle, and they knew, furthermore, that if the city were taken, neither pity nor entreaty would be left them. Therefore they decided to dispatch ambassadors to entreat him to deal moderately with them and to urge him to make no decision against them beyond what became a human being. Dionysius required three hundred talents of them, took all their ships, which amounted to seventy, and ordered the delivery of one hundred hostages. When all these had been turned over, he set out against Caulonia. The inhabitants of this city he transplanted to Syracuse, gave them citizenship, and allowed them exemption from taxes for five years; he then levelled the city to the ground and gave the territory of the Cauloniates to the Locrians.

The Romans, after taking the city of Liphoecua from the people of the Aequi, held, in accordance with the vows of the consuls, great games in honour of Zeus.

107. At the close of this year, in Athens Pyrgion \$88 B.C. was archon and in Rome four military tribunes took over the consular magistracy, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Gaius Aemilius, and Gaius Rufus,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See chaps. 44. 4-5; 107. 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Gaius Rufus is deleted by most editors and is probably a mistake.

καὶ Γάιος 'Ροῦφος, 'Ολυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ὀγδόη πρὸς ταῖς ἐνενήκοντα, καθ' ἡν ἐνίκα Σώσιππος ᾿Αθη-2 ναίος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειληφότων Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων δυνάστης πορευθείς εἰς Ίππώνιον μετά τῆς δυνάμεως, τοὺς μὲν κατοικοῦντας εν αὐτῆ μετώκισεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, τὴν δέ πόλιν κατασκάψας τοῖς Λοκροῖς προσεμέρισε 3 την χώραν. κατά τὸ συνεχές γὰρ ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τοὺς Λοκρούς εὖ ποιείν διὰ τὴν συγχωρηθείσαν ἐπιγαμίαν τους δε 'Ρηγίνους επεθύμει τιμωρήσασθαι διά την περί της οἰκειότητος άδικίαν. καθ' δν γαρ καιρον απέστειλε πρός αυτούς πρέσβεις αξιών αύτῷ συγχωρηθηναι τῶν πολιτικῶν παρθένων γαμῆσαι, φασὶ τοὺς 'Ρηγίνους ἀποκριθῆναι δημοσία τοῖς πρέσβεσιν, ώς μόνην αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι γαμεῖν 4 την τοῦ δημίου θυγατέρα. διὰ τοῦτο βαρέως φέρων καὶ δοκῶν ὑπερβαλλόντως ὑβρίσθαι, πολὺς ἦν ἐπὶ τῆ κατ' αὐτῶν τιμωρία. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρότερον ένιαυτῶ τὴν εἰρήνην συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς οὐ τῆς φιλίας όρεγόμενος, άλλὰ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν παρελέσθαι βουλόμενος, οὖσαν τριήρων έβδομήκοντα. διελάμβανε γὰρ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν βοηθείας ἀποκλεισθείσης ραδίως εκπολιορκήσειν<sup>3</sup> την πόλιν. 5 διόπερ κατά την 'Ιταλίαν ενδιατρίβων εζήτει πρόφασιν εύλογον, δι' ής οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν ἰδίαν δόξει λελυκέναι τὰς συνθήκας.

108. 'Αγαγών οὖν πρὸς τὸν πορθμὸν τὰς δυνάμεις τὰ πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἤτει τοὺς 'Ρηγίνους ἀγοράς, ἐπαγ-

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς Λοκροῖς added by Rhodoman.

and the Ninety-eighth Olympiad was celebrated, 388 B.C. that in which Sosippus of Athens was the victor.1 When these men had entered office, Dionysius, the lord of the Syracusans, advanced with his army to Hipponium, removed its inhabitants to Syracuse, razed the city to the ground, and apportioned its territory to the Locrians. For he was continuously set upon doing the Locrians favours for the marriage they had agreed to, whereas he studied revenge upon the Rhegians for their affront with respect to the offer of kinship. For on the occasion when he sent ambassadors to them to ask them to grant him in marriage a maiden of their city, the Rhegians replied to the ambassadors by action of the people, we are told, that the only maiden they would agree to his marrying would be the daughter of their public executioner. Angered because of this and believing that he had been grossly insulted, he was bent on getting revenge upon them. Indeed the peace he had concluded with them in the preceding year had come from no hankering on his part for friendly relations, but was designed to strip them of their naval power, which consisted of seventy triremes. For he believed that if the city were cut off from aid by sea he could easily reduce it by siege. Consequently, while loitering in Italy, he kept seeking a plausible excuse whereby he might seem to have broken the truce without prejudice to his own standing.

108. Dionysius now led his forces to the Strait and made preparations to cross over. And first he asked the Rhegians to provide him with supplies for sale,

<sup>1</sup> In the "stadion."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Bezzel: δίκην. Post suggests αἰτίαν.
<sup>3</sup> So Dindorf: πολιορκήσειν.

γελλόμενος ταχέως τὰς δοθείσας ἀποστέλλειν ἐκ Συρακουσών. τοῦτο δ' ἔπραττεν, ὅπως μὴ διδόντων μεν αὐτῶν δικαίως δόξη τὴν πόλιν έλεῖν, δόντων δ' ενόμιζεν εξαναλώσειν αὐτῶν τὸν σῖτον καὶ προσκαθίσας τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὴν σπάνιν ταχὺ 2 κυριεύσειν αὐτῆς. οἱ δὲ ዮηγῖνοι τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ύπονοοῦντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐχορήγουν τὰς τροφάς λαμπρῶς ώς δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ένδιέτριβε, ποτè μὲν ἀρρωστίαν, ποτè δὲ ἄλλας προφάσεις ποριζόμενος, ύπονοήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν οὐκέτι παρεῖχον τὰς τροφὰς τῷ στρα-3 τοπέδω. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ἐπὶ τούτω προσποιηθεὶς άγανακτείν, τους μέν δμήρους τοις 'Ρηγίνοις άπέδωκε, την δὲ πόλιν περιστρατοπεδεύσας καθ' ήμέραν προσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ μηχανημάτων πολύ πληθος ἀπίστων² τοῖς μεγέθεσι, δι' ών τὰ τείχη σαλεύων ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο κατὰ κράτος 4 έλειν την πόλιν. οι δε 'Ρηγινοι στρατηγόν ελόμενοι Φύτωνα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία καθοπλίσαντες, ταις τε φυλακαις έπιμελως έχρωντο και κατά τάς εὐκαιρίας εξιόντες ενεπύριζον τὰς τῶν πολεμίων 5 μηχανάς. οδτοι μέν οδν πολλάκις ύπερ της πατρίδος λαμπρώς ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν, τήν τε τῶν πολεμίων ὀργὴν ἐξέκαυσαν καὶ πολλούς μέν έαυτῶν ἀπέβαλον, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν Σικελιω-6 των ανείλον. και αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Διονύσιον συνέβη λόγχη πληγέντα παρά τὸν βουβῶνα παρ' ὀλίγον μεν τελευτήσαι, μόγις δε αύτον αναλαβείν εκ τοῦ τραύματος. χρονιζούσης δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας διὰ τὸ τους 'Ρηγίνους άνυπέρβλητον εισφέρεσθαι σπουδήν

So Stephanus : δè νομίζειν.
 So Wesseling : ἄπιστον.

promising that he would promptly return from Syra-388 B.C. cuse what they had given. He made this request in order that men should think that, if they did not provide the food, he would be justified in seizing the city, whereas if they did, he believed their food would run out and by sitting down before the city he would speedily master it by starvation. The Rhegians, suspecting nothing of this, at first supplied them lavishly with food for several days; but when he kept extending his stay, at one time claiming illness and at another offering other excuses, they suspected what he had in mind and no longer furnished his army with supplies. Dionysius, pretending now to be angered at this, returned the hostages to the Rhegians, laid siege to the city, and launched daily assaults upon it. He also constructed a great multitude of siege weapons of unbelievable size by which he rocked the walls in his determination to take the city by storm. The Rhegians chose Phyton as general, armed all who could bear arms, gave close concern to their watches, and, as opportunity arose, sallied out and burned the enemy's siege engines. Fighting brilliantly as they did for their fatherland on many occasions before the walls, they roused the anger of the enemy, and although they lost many of their own troops, they also slew no small number of the Sicilian Greeks. And it happened that Dionysius himself was struck by a lance in the groin and barely escaped death, recovering with difficulty from the wound. The siege wore on because of the unsurpassable zeal the Rhegians displayed to maintain their freedom;

ύπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, Διονύσιος τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις συνεῖχεν ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν προσβολαῖς καὶ τὴν

έξ άρχης πρόθεσιν οὐκ έγκατέλειπεν.

109. Των δ' 'Ολυμπίων έγγυς όντων απέστειλεν είς τὸν ἀγῶνα τέθριππα πλείω, διαφέροντα πολύ των άλλων τοις τάχεσι, και σκηνάς είς την πανήγυριν διαχρύσους καὶ πολυτελέσι ποικίλοις ίματίοις κεκοσμημένας. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ραψωδούς τοὺς κρατίστους, όπως έν τῆ πανηγύρει τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ προφερόμενοι ποιήσωσιν ἔνδοξον τὸν Διονύσιον σφόδρα γάρ είς την ποιητικήν ύπηρχε μεμη-2 νώς. τούτων δ' ἐπιμελητὴν συνεξέπεμψε Θεαρίδην τον αδελφόν ος έπει παρεγένετο είς την πανήγυριν. έπὶ μὲν τῶ κάλλει τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῶ πλήθει τῶν τεθρίππων ην περίβλεπτος ώς δ' επεβάλονθ' οί ραψωδοί προφέρεσθαι τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰ ποιήματα. κατ' ἀργὰς μεν διὰ τὴν εὐφωνίαν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν συνέδραμε τὰ πλήθη καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν κακίαν τῶν ποιημάτων, διενέλων τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ώστε τινὰς τολμήσαι διαρπάζειν τὰς 3 σκηνάς. καὶ γὰρ Λυσίας ὁ ρήτωρ τότε διατρίβων έν 'Ολυμπία προετρέπετο τὰ πλήθη μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τοις ιεροις άγωσι τους έξ ἀσεβεστάτης τυραννίδος ἀπεσταλμένους θεωρούς ὅτε καὶ τὸν 4 'Ολυμπιακόν λόγον ἐπιγραφόμενον ἀνέγνω. τοῦ δ' άγῶνος συντελουμένου συνέβη κατὰ τύχην τῶν

### <sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: ἐπέβαλον.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of Athens.

Property of the oration is preserved (Lysias, Orat. 33) to see the Lysias urged the Greeks to unite against their two great enemies, the Persian King and Dionysius. Plutarch 294

but Dionysius held his armaments to the daily assaults 388 B.O. and would not give up the task he had originally

proposed to himself.

109. The Olympic Games were at hand and Dionysius dispatched to the contest several four-horse teams, which far surpassed all others in swiftness, and also pavilions for the festive occasion, which were interwoven with gold and embellished with expensive cloth of gay and varied colours. He also sent the best professional reciters that they might present his poems in the gathering and thus win glory for the name of Dionysius, for he was madly addicted to poetry. In charge of all this he sent along his brother Thearides. When Thearides arrived at the gathering, he was a centre of attraction for the beauty of the pavilions and the large number of four-horse teams; and when the reciters began to present the poems of Dionysius, at first the multitude thronged together because of the pleasing voices of the actors and all were filled with wonder. But on second consideration, when they observed how poor his verses were, they laughed Dionysius to scorn and went so far in their rejection that some of them even ventured to rifle the tents. Indeed the orator Lysias,1 who was at that time in Olympia, urged the multitude not to admit to the sacred festival the representatives from a most impious tyranny; and at this time he delivered his Olympiacus.<sup>2</sup> In the course of the contest chance

(Themistocles, 25), on the authority of Theophrastus, tells a similar story of c. 470 B.c. when Hiero of Syracuse is represented as sending chariot horses and a costly pavilion to Olympia and Themistocle and the first that the pavilion be torn down and the horses are an incompating. The story is clearly a pure fabrication based on this account of Diodorus (see Walker in Camb. Anc. Hist. 5, p. 36).

Διονυσίου τεθρίππων τὰ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δρόμου, τὰ δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐμπεσόντα συντριβῆναι, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν παρακομίζουσαν ναῦν τοὺς θεωροὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγώνων ἀναχθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Τάραντα διά τινας¹ χειμῶνας. διὸ καί φασι σωθέντας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς Συρακούσας διαγγέλλειν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅτι διὰ τὴν κακίαν τῶν ποιημάτων οὐ μόνον οἱ ραψωδοῦντες, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις τά τε² τέθριππα 6 καὶ ἡ ναῦς ἐξέπεσον. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος πυθόμενος τὸν τῶν ποιημάτων διασυρμόν, καὶ τῶν κολάκων

νοῦντες ἐξ ύστέρου θαυμάζουσιν, οὐκ ἀφίστατο τῆς περὶ τὴν ποίησιν σπουδῆς.

7 'Ρωμαΐοι δὲ πρὸς Οὐολσινίτας περὶ Γουράσιον παραταξάμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἀνεῖλον.

λεγόντων ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς καλῶς πραττομένοις φθο-

110. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων δ μὲν ἐνιαύσιος χρόνος παρεληλύθει, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις ἦρχε Θεόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὙΡώμη τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχον χιλίαρχοι ἔξ, Κόιντος Καίσων³ Σουλπίκιος, Αἶνος Καίσων Φάβιος, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος, Πό-2 πλιος Κορνήλιος. τούτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρειλη-

2 ππος Ιχορνηπως. Πουτών σε την αρχην παρεικηφότων Λακεδαιμόνιοι κακοπαθοῦντες τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ τε πρὸς τοὺς Έλληνας καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, 'Ανταλκίδαν τὸν ναύαρχον έξαπέστειλαν πρὸς

3 'Αρταξέρξην ύπερ εἰρήνης. διαλεχθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ὧν ἢν ἀπεσταλμένος ἐνδεχομένως, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην· τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν 'Ελληνίδας πόλεις ὑπὸ βασιλέα τετάχθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Έλληνας ἄπαντας αὐτο-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τινας] δεινούς Reiske.
<sup>2</sup> τά τε added by Reiske.
<sup>3</sup> Καίσων omitted by A, Vogel.

brought it about that some of Dionysius' chariots left \$88 a.c. the course and others collided among themselves and were wrecked. Likewise the ship which was on its way to Sicily carrying the representatives from the games was wrecked by strong winds near Taras in Italy. Consequently the sailors who got safe to Syracuse spread the story throughout the city, we are told, that the badness of the verses caused the ill-success, not only of the reciters, but of the teams and of the ship with them. When Dionysius learned of the ridicule that had been heaped upon his verses, his flatterers told him that every fair accomplishment is first an object of envy and then of admiration. He therefore did not give up his devotion to writing.

The Romans fought a battle at Gurasium with the Volscians and slew great numbers of the enemy.

and the conclusion of these events the year 387 n.c. came to an end, and among the Athenians Theodotus was archon and in Rome the consular magistracy was held by six military tribunes, Quintus Caeso Sulpicius, Aenus Caeso Fabius, Quintus Servilius, and Publius Cornelius.<sup>2</sup> After these men had entered office, the Lacedaemonians, who were hard put to it by their double war, that against the Greeks and that against the Persians, dispatched their admiral Antalcidas to Artaxerxes to treat for peace. Antalcidas discussed as well as he could the circumstances of his mission and the King agreed to make peace on the following terms: "The Greek cities of Asia are subject to the King, but all the other Greeks shall be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tarentum.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As so often, the names are most uncertain and at variance with those of the *fasti* and of Livy.

νόμους εἶναι· τοῖς δὲ ἀπειθοῦσι καὶ μὴ προσδεχομένοις τὰς συνθήκας διὰ τῶν εὐδοκούντων 4 πολεμήσειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτοις εὐδοκήσαντες ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ᾿Αθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι καί τινες ἔτεροι τῶν Ἑλλήνων¹ βαρέως ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν πόλεις ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι· καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι, κατ᾽ ἀνάγκην συνεχώρησαν καὶ προσεδέξαντο τὴν εἰρήνην.

5 Καί ο μèν βασιλεὺς διαλυθείσης² τῆς πρὸς τοὺς Έλληνας διαφορᾶς παρεσκευάζετο τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὸν Κυπριακὸν πόλεμον· ὁ γὰρ Εὐαγόρας σχεδὸν ὅλην τὴν Κύπρον ἢν κεκτημένος³ καὶ δυνάμεις ἄδρὰς συνηθροίκει διὰ τὸ τὸν ᾿Αρταξέρξην⁴ τῷ

πρός τους Έλληνας πολέμω διεσπάσθαι.

111. Διονυσίου δὲ σχεδόν ἐνδέκατον μῆνα 'Ρήγιον πολιορκοῦντος καὶ τὰς πανταχόθεν βοηθείας ἀποκεκλεικότος, εἰς δεινὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παρεγενήθησαν· φαοὶ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦς 'Ρηγίνοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πέντε μνῶν γενέσθαι τὸν μέδιμνον τοῦ σίτου. καταπονούμενοι δὲ τῆ σιτοδεία τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τἄλλα ὑποζύγια κατέφαγον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δέρματα καθέψοντες ἐσιτοῦντο, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξιόντες τὴν πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσι βοτάνην ἤσθιον καθαπερεί τινα θρέμματα οὕτως ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δίαιταν εἰς ἀλόγων ζώων τροφὰς καταφυγεῖν ἐβιάζετο. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος πυθόμενος τὸ γινόμενον οὐχ ὅπως ἡλέησε τοὺς

So Dindorf: ἄλλων.
 So Sintenis: διαλυθείς.

<sup>3</sup> So Wesseling, ἐκβεβλημένος Α, ἐκκεκλημένος cet.

independent; and upon those who refuse compliance 387 B.C. and do not accept these terms I shall make war through the aid of those who consent to them." Now the Lacedaemonians consented to the terms and offered no opposition, but the Athenians and Thebans and some of the other Greeks were deeply concerned that the cities of Asia should be left in the lurch. But since they were not by themselves a match in war, they consented of necessity and accepted the peace.

The King, now that his difference with the Greeks was settled, made ready his armaments for the war against Cyprus. For Evagoras had got possession of almost the whole of Cyprus and gathered strong armaments, because Artaxerxes was distracted by

the war against the Greeks.

111. It was about the eleventh month of Dionysius' siege of Rhegium, and since he had cut off relief from every direction, the inhabitants of the city were faced by a terrible dearth of the necessities of life. We are told, indeed, that at the time a medimnus of wheat among the Rhegians cost five minas.<sup>2</sup> So reduced were they by lack of food that at first they ate their horses and other beasts of burden, then fed upon boiled skins and leather, and finally they would go out from the city and eat the grass near the walls like so many cattle. To such an extent did the demand of nature compel the wants of man to turn for their satisfaction to the food of dumb animals. When Dionysius learned what was taking place, far

<sup>2</sup> About \$60 a bushel.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This famous Peace of Antalcidas is given in a little fuller form in Xenophon, *Hell. 5.* 1. 31.

 <sup>4</sup> ἐν after ᾿Αρταξέρξην deleted by Hertlein.
 5 So Reiske: καθεψῶντες.

ύπερ ἄνθρωπον πάσχειν ἀναγκαζομένους, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοὖναντίον ἐπαγαγὼν ζεύγη εἶλε τὴν πόαν τοῦ 4 τόπου, ὥστε τὴν ὕλην ἄπασαν ἀφανισθῆναι. διόπερ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν κακῶν νικώμενοι παρέδωκαν τὴν πόλιν οἱ 'Ρηγῖνοι τῷ τυράννῳ, τὴν πᾶσαν καθ' αὐτῶν¹ ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐξουσίαν. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος κατὰ μὲν τὴν πόλιν εὖρε σωροὺς νεκρῶν οἱ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐτετελευτήκεισαν² καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας δὲ νεκρῶν ἔχοντας διάθεσιν καὶ παρειμένους τὰ σώματα καταλαβών, ἤθροισεν αἰχμαλώτους πλείους τῶν έξακισχιλίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πλῆθος ἀποστείλας εἰς Συρακούσας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δόντας ἀργυρίου μνᾶν ἀπολυτροῦσθαι, τοὺς δ' εὐπορῆσαι μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐλαφυροπώλησε.

112. Φύτωνα δὲ τὸν τῶν 'Ρηγίνων στρατηγὸν συλλαβών, τὸν μὲν υίὸν αὐτοῦ κατεπόντισεν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔδησε πρὸς τὰς ὑψηλοτάτας μηχανάς, οίονει τραγικήν τινα τιμωρίαν λαμβάνων. προσέπεμψε δέ τινα τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἐροῦντα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐχθὲς αὐτοῦ τὸν υίὸν Διονύσιος κατεπόντισε πρός δυ είπε Φύτων, διότι γέγονεν εύτυ-2 χέστερος τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμέρα μιᾶ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περιηνεν αὐτὸν Διονύσιος την πόλιν μαστίζων καὶ κατά πάντα τρόπον αἰκιζόμενος, ἄμα κήρυκος συνακολουθοῦντος ὅτι τὸν ἄνδρα Διονύσιος τιμωρεῖται παρηλλαγμένως, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἔπεισεν ελέσθαι τὸν 3 πόλεμον. ό δε Φύτων κατά την πολιορκίαν στρατηγος άγαθος γεγενημένος και κατά τον άλλον βίον έπαινούμενος, οὐκ ἀγεννῶς ὑπέμενε τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτής τιμωρίαν, άλλ' ακατάπληκτον την ψυχήν

καθ' αὐτῶν Dindorf: κατ' αὐτῶν.
 2 So Eichstädt: τετελευτήκασι.

from showing mercy to those who were perforce \$87 B.C. suffering beyond man's endurance, on the contrary he brought in cattle to clear the place of the greenstuff, with the result that it was completely stripped. Consequently the Rhegians, overcome by their excessive hardships, surrendered their city to the tyrant, giving him complete power over their lives. Within the city Dionysius found heaps of dead who had perished from lack of food, and the living too whom he captured were like dead men and weakened in body. He got together more than six thousand captives and the multitude he sent off to Syracuse with orders that those who could pay as ransom a mina of silver should be freed, but to sell as slaves those who were unable to raise that sum.

112. Dionysius seized Phyton, the general of the Rhegians, and drowned his son in the sea, but Phyton himself he at first bound on his loftiest siege engines, wreaking a vengeance upon him such as is to be seen upon the stage of tragedy. He also sent one of his servants to him to tell him that Dionysius had drowned his son in the sea the day before; to whom Phyton replied, "He has been more fortunate than his father by one day." After this Dionysius had him led about the city under flogging and subjected to every indignity, a herald accompanying him and announcing that Dionysius was inflicting this unusual vengeance upon the man because he had persuaded the city to undertake the war. But Phyton, who had shown himself a brave general during the siege and had won approval for all his other qualities, endured his mortal punishment with no low-born spirit. Rather

φυλάξας καὶ βοῶν ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βουληθεὶς προδοῦναι Διονυσίῳ τυγχάνει τῆς τιμωρίας, ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐκείνῳ συντόμως ἐπιστήσει· ὥστε τὴν ἀρετὴν τἀνδρὸς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῦ 4 Διονυσίου κατελεεῖσθαι καί τινας ἤδη θορυβεῖν. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος εὐλαβηθείς, μή τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποτολμήσωσιν ἐξαρπάζειν τὸν Φύτωνα, παυσάμενος τῆς τιμωρίας κατεπόντισε τὸν ἀτυχῆ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας. οὖτος μὲν οὖν ἀναξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκνόμοις περιέπεσε τιμωρίαις, καὶ πολλοὺς ἔσχε καὶ τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀλγήσαντας τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ποιητὰς τοὺς θρηνήσαντας τὸ τῆς περιπετείας ἐλεεινόν.

113. Καθ' δν δὲ καιρὸν μάλιστα 'Ρήγιον ἐπολιόρκει Διονύσιος, οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰ πέραν τῶν "Αλπεων Κελτοὶ τὰ στενὰ διελθόντες μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι κατελάβοντο τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν τοῦ τε 'Απεννίνου καὶ τῶν "Αλπεων ὀρῶν, ἐκβάλλοντες τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Τυρρηνούς.' τούτους δ' ἔνιοί φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνία δώδεκα πόλεων ἀποικισθῆναι· τινὲς δέ φασι Πελασγοὺς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐκ Θετταλίας φυγόντας τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος γενόμενον κατακλυσμὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ 3 κατοικῆσαι. τῶν οὖν Κελτῶν κατ' ἔθνη διελομένων τὴν χώραν, οἱ καλούμενοι Σέννωνες ἔτυχον λαβόντες τὸν πορρωτάτω κείμενον τόπον² τῶν ὀρῶν παρὰ θάλατταν. ὄντος δ' αὐτοῦ καυματώδους, δυσθετοῦντες ἔσπευδον μετοικῆσαι, καὶ τοὺς νεω-

Tυρρηνοὺs deleted by Vogel. <sup>2</sup> τόπον Cluver: λόφον.

he preserved his spirit undaunted and cried out that \$87 B.C. he was punished because he would not betray the city to Dionysius, and that heaven would soon visit such punishment upon Dionysius himself. The courage of the man aroused sympathy even among the soldiers of Dionysius, and some of them began to protest. Dionysius, fearing that some of the soldiers might make bold to snatch Phyton out of his hands, ceased to punish him and drowned the unfortunate man at sea together with his near of kin. So this man suffered monstrous tortures unworthy of his merits. He won many of the Greeks to grieve for him at the time and many poets to lament the sad story of his reversal of fortune thereafter.

113. At the time that Dionysius was besieging Rhegium, the Celts 1 who had their homes in the regions beyond the Alps streamed through the passes in great strength and seized the territory that lay between the Apennine mountains and the Alps, expelling the Tyrrhenians who dwelt there. according to some, were colonists from the twelve cities of Tyrrhenia; but others state that before the Trojan War Pelasgians fled from Thessaly to escape the flood of Deucalion's time and settled in this region. Now it happened, when the Celts divided up the territory by tribes, that those known as the Sennones received the area which lay farthest from the mountains and along the sea. But since this region was scorching hot, they were distressed and eager to move; hence they armed their younger men and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There are two other extended descriptions of the Gallic invasion of Rome, in Livy, 5. 34-49 and in Plutarch, Camillus, 16-29. The account by Diodorus is by far the most reliable (cp. Beloch, Römische Geschichte, pp. 311 ff.; Schwegler-Baur, 3, pp. 234 ff.).

τέρους καθοπλίσαντες ἀπέστειλαν ζητεῖν χώραν, ἐν ἢ κατοικήσουσιν. εἰσβαλόντες οὖν εἰς Τυρρηνίαν καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες περὶ τρισμυρίους τὴν τῶν

Κλουσίνων χώραν ἐπόρθουν.

Καθ' ὅν δὴ χρόνον ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν είς Τυρρηνίαν τους κατασκεψομένους την στρατιάν τῶν Κελτῶν. παραγενόμενοι δε οί πρέσβεις είς Κλούσιον καὶ θεωρήσαντες παράταξιν γενομένην, ἀνδρειότεροι μᾶλλον ἢ φρονιμώτεροι γενηθέντες παρετάξαντο τοις Κλουσίνοις 5 πρός τους πολιορκοῦντας. εὐημερήσαντος δὲ θατέρου τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καί τινα τῶν ἐνδοξοτέρων ἐπάρχων ἀποκτείναντος, γνόντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τὸ γεγονὸς εἰς Ῥώμην πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν τοὺς έξαιτήσοντας τὸν πρεσβευτήν τὸν ἀδίκου πολέμου 6 προκαταρξάμενον. ή δὲ γερουσία τὸ μὲν πρῶτον έπειθε τούς πρεσβευτάς τῶν Κελτῶν χρήματα λαβεῖν περὶ τῶν ἡδικημένων ώς δ' οὖ προσεῖχον, έψηφίσαντο παραδοθναι τον κατηγορούμενον. δ δέ πατήρ τοῦ μέλλοντος παραδίδοσθαι, τῶν χιλιάρχων είς ὢν τῶν τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων. προεκαλέσατο την δίκην ἐπὶ τὸν δημον, καὶ δυνατὸς ων επί τοις πλήθεσιν έπεισεν άκυρον ποιησαι την 7 κρίσιν της συγκλήτου. ο μεν οθν δημος εν τοίς έμπροσθεν χρόνοις πάντα πειθόμενος τῆ γερουσία, τότε πρώτον ήρξατο διαλύειν το κριθέν ύπο της συγκλήτου.

114. Οἱ δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν πρέσβεις παραγενηθέντες εἰς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἀπήγγειλαν τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀπόκρισιν. ἐφ' ἢ μεγάλως ἀγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσλαβόμενοι παρὰ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν δύναμιν, ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἢπείγοντο τὴν 'Ρώμην,

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# BOOK XIV. 113, 3-114, 1

sent them out to seek a territory where they might 387 B.C. settle. Now they invaded Tyrrhenia, and being in number some thirty thousand they sacked the territory of the Clusini.

At this very time the Roman people sent ambassadors 1 into Tyrrhenia to spy out the army of the The ambassadors arrived at Clusium, and when they saw that a battle had been joined, with more valour than wisdom they joined the men of Clusium against their besiegers, and one 2 of the ambassadors was successful in killing a rather important commander. When the Celts learned of this, they dispatched ambassadors to Rome to demand the person of the envoy who had thus commenced an unjust war. The senate at first sought to persuade the envoys of the Celts to accept money in satisfaction of the injury, but when they would not consider this, it voted to surrender the accused. But the father of the man to be surrendered, who was also one of the military tribunes with consular power, appealed the judgement to the people,3 and since he was a man of influence among the masses, he persuaded them to void the decision of the senate. Now in the times previous to this the people had followed the senate in all matters; with this occasion they first began to rescind decisions of that body.

114. The ambassadors of the Celts returned to their camp and reported the reply of the Romans. At this they were greatly angered and, adding an army from their fellow tribesmen, they marched swiftly upon

<sup>1</sup> Three, all of the Fabian gens.
<sup>2</sup> Quintus Fabius Ambustus.

<sup>3</sup> An instance of the famous provocatio ad populum.

<sup>1</sup> èv added by Hertlein.

όντες πλείους των έπτακισμυρίων. οί δε χιλίαρχοι των 'Ρωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς ίδίας ἐξουσίας ὄντες, καὶ την των Κελτων έφοδον ακούοντες, απαντας τούς 2 εν ήλικία καθώπλισαν. εξελθόντες δε πανδημεί καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Τίβεριν παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ήγαγον την δύναμιν σταδίους όγδοήκοντα, καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων προσιέναι διέταττον τὸ 3 στρατόπεδον. τους μέν οθν ανδρειοτάτους δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μέχρι των λόφων διέταξαν, ἐπὶ δὲ των ύψηλοτάτων λόφων τους ἀσθενεστάτους ἔστησαν. οί δὲ Κελτοί, μακράν τὴν φάλαγγα παρεκτείνοντες, εἴτε κατά τύχην είτε κατά πρόνοιαν τους άρίστους εστησαν 4 ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων. ἄμα δ' αί¹ σάλπιγγες παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐσήμαινον καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα συνήεσαν εἰς μάχην μετὰ πολλης κραυγης. οί δ' ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Κελτῶν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τοῖς ἀσθενεστάτοις τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ραδίως αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἐτρέ-5 ψαντο. διόπερ τούτων άθρόων φευγόντων πρός τους έν τῶ πεδίω 'Ρωμαίους, αι τε τάξεις ἐπεταράττοντο καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐπικειμένων καταπλαγέντες ἔφευγον. τῶν δὲ πλείστων παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν δρμησάντων καὶ διὰ τὴν ταραχὴν ἀλλήλοις έμπιπτόντων, ούχ ύστέρουν<sup>3</sup> οί Κελτοί τους έσχάτους ἀεὶ φονεύοντες διὸ καὶ τὸ πεδίον ἄπαν νεκρῶν 6 κατεστρώθη. των δὲ φευγόντων ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν οί μέν ἀνδρειότατοι μετά τῶν ὅπλων διενήχοντο, την πανοπλίαν εν ίσω καὶ την ψυχην προτιμώντες. σφοδροῦ δὲ τοῦ ρεύματος ὄντος, τινὲς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ 306

## BOOK XIV. 114. 1-6

Rome itself, numbering more than seventy thousand 387 B.C. men. The military tribunes of the Romans, exercising their special power, when they heard of the advance of the Celts, armed all the men of military age. They then marched out in full force and, crossing the Tiber,1 led their troops for eighty stades along the river; and at news of the approach of the Galatians they drew up the army for battle. Their best troops, to the number of twenty-four thousand, they set in a line from the river as far as the hills and on the highest hills they stationed the weakest. The Celts deployed their troops in a long line and, whether by fortune or design, stationed their choicest troops on the hills. The trumpets on both sides sounded the charge at the same time and the armies joined in battle with great clamour. The élite troops of the Celts, who were opposed to the weakest soldiers of the Romans, easily drove them from the hills. Consequently, as these fled in masses to the Romans on the plain, the ranks were thrown into confusion and fled in dismay before the attack of the Celts. Since the bulk of the Romans fled along the river and impeded one another by reason of their disorder, the Celts were not behindhand in slaying again and again those who were last in line. Hence the entire plain was strewn with dead. Of the men who fled to the river the bravest attempted to swim across with their arms, prizing their armour as highly as their lives; but since the stream ran strong, some of them were borne down to their death

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Diodorus is the only ancient writer who places this battle of the Allia on the right, and not the left, bank of the Tiber.

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  δ' at Dindorf : δέ.  $^{2}$  So Dindorf :  $^{2}$  δφρόως.  $^{3}$  ύστέρουν Reiske : ὑπηρέτουν.

βάρους τῶν ὅπλων καταδυόμενοι διεφθείροντο, τινές δε μετά πολλης κακοπαθείας εφ' ίκανον διά-7 στημα παρενεχθέντες μόγις ἐσώθησαν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πολλοὺς ἀναιρούντων, οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ριπτοθντες τὰ ὅπλα διενήχοντο τὸν Τίβεριν. 115. Οί δὲ Κελτοί, πολλούς καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμον ανηρηκότες, ουδ' ουτως αφίσταντο της φιλοτιμίας, άλλ' έπὶ τοὺς διανηχομένους ηκόντιζον. καὶ πολλῶν βελῶν ἀφιεμένων εἰς ἀθρόους τοὺς ἐν τῶ ποταμῷ, συνέβαινε μὴ διαμαρτάνειν τοὺς βάλλοντας. όθεν οι μέν καιρίαις περιπεσόντες πληγαις εὐθέως ἐτελεύτων, οἱ δὲ κατατραυματιζόμενοι καὶ διά την περί το αίμα ρύσιν και σφοδρότητα τοῦ 2 ρεύματος εκλυόμενοι παρεφέροντο. τοιαύτης δε συμφορας γενομένης περί τούς 'Ρωμαίους, οί μεν πλείστοι τῶν διασωθέντων πόλιν Βηίους κατελάβοντο, προσφάτως ύφ' ξαυτών κατεσκαμμένην,1 καὶ τόν τε τόπον ωχύρουν κατά τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τους έκ της φυγης σωζομένους ανελάμβανον ολίγοι δε των διανηξαμένων ἄνοπλοι φυγόντες είς 'Ρώμην απήγγειλαν πάντας απολωλέναι. τηλικούτων δ' ἀτυχημάτων ἠγγελμένων² τοῖς ἐν τῆ πόλει κατα-3 λελειμμένοις είς απορίαν απαντες ενέπιπτον ανθίστασθαι μεν γάρ άδύνατον είναι διελάμβανον. άπάντων των νέων ἀπολωλότων, φεύγειν δὲ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικών ἐπικίνδυνον ἦν λίαν, τών πολεμίων έγγυς υπαρχόντων. πολλοί μεν οθν των ίδιωτών πανοίκιοι πρός τὰς ἀστυγείτονας πόλεις ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες τῆς πόλεως παραθαρούνοντες τὰ πλήθη προσέταττον ταχέως ἐπὶ τὸ Κα-πετώλιον τόν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων 308

by the weight of the arms, and some, after being 387 B.C. carried along for some distance, finally and after great effort got off safe. But since the enemy pressed them hard and was making a great slaughter along the river, most of the survivors threw away their arms and swam across the Tiber.

115. The Celts, though they had slain great numbers on the bank of the river, nevertheless did not desist from the zest for glory but showered javelins upon the swimmers; and since many missiles were hurled and men were massed in the river, those who threw did not miss their mark. So it was that some died at once from mortal blows, and others, who were wounded only, were carried off unconscious because of loss of blood and the swift current. When such disaster befell, the greater part of the Romans who escaped occupied the city of Veii, which had lately been razed by them, fortified the place as well as they could, and received the survivors of the rout. A few of those who had swum the river fled without their arms to Rome and reported that the whole army had perished. When word of such misfortunes as we have described was brought to those who had been left behind in the city, everyone fell into despair; for they saw no possibility of resistance, now that all their youth had perished, and to flee with their children and wives was fraught with the greatest danger since the enemy were close at hand. Now many private citizens fled with their households to neighbouring cities, but the city magistrates, encouraging the populace, issued orders for them to bring speedily to the Capitoline grain and every other necessity.

So Rhodoman : κατεσκευασμένην.
 So Dindorf, γενομένων P, γεγενημένων cet.

4 ἀποκομίζειν. οδ γενηθέντος ἔγεμεν ή τ' ἀκρόπολις καὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον χωρὶς τῶν εἰς τροφὴν ἀνηκόντων ἀργυρίου τε καὶ χρυσίου καὶ τῆς πολυτελεστάτης έσθητος, ώς αν έξ όλης της πόλεως είς ένα τόπον των άγαθων συνηθροισμένων. οθτοι μέν οὖν τὰ δυνατὰ τῶν χρημάτων μετεκόμιζον καὶ τον προειρημένον τόπον ώχύρουν, αναστροφήν έχον-5 τες τρεις ήμέρας. οί γαρ Κελτοί την μεν πρώτην ημέραν διετέλεσαν ἀποκόπτοντες² τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων κατά τὸ πάτριον ἔθος· τὰς δὲ δύο παρὰ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδεύοντες, καὶ τὰ μὲν τείχη θεωρούντες έρημα, κραυγήν δε αἰσθόμενοι γινομένην, ην εποίουν οί τὰ χρησιμώτατα μεταφέροντες είς την ακρόπολιν, ύπελαμβανον ενεδρεύειν έαυτοις 6 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. τῆ τετάρτη δ' ἡμέρα γνόντες τὴν ἀλήθειαν, τάς τε πύλας ἐξέκοψαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν έλυμαίνοντο, χωρίς ολίγων οἰκιῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίω. μετά δὲ ταθτα προσβολάς ποιούμενοι καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς ὀχυροὺς τόπους, οὐθὲν μὲν ἀξιόλογον ἔβλαπτον τους ύπεναντίους, έαυτων δε πολλούς ἀπέβαλλον. ομως δ' οὐκ ἀφίσταντο τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἐλπίζοντες, έὰν μὴ βία κρατήσωσι, τῷ γε χρόνω πάντως τῶν αναγκαίων εκλιπόντων καταπονήσειν.

116. Των δε 'Ρωμαίων εν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς ὅντων, οἱ παροικοῦντες Τυρρηνοὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως άδρᾶς ἐπεπορεύοντο τὴν τῶν 'Ρωμαίων χώραν λεηλατοῦντες, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν σωμάτων, οὐκ ὀλίγης δ' ἀφελείας ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο. οἱ δ' εἰς τοὺς Βηίους τῶν 'Ρωμαίων πεφευγότες ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ τήν τε

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> τ' and καὶ τὸ Καπετώλιον deleted by Vogel.
<sup>2</sup> So Reiske: ἀνακόπτοντες.

When this had been done, both the acropolis and 387 B.C. the Capitoline were stored not only with supplies of food but with silver and gold and the costliest raiment, since the precious possessions had been gathered from over the whole city into one place. They gathered such valuables as they could and fortified the place we have mentioned during a respite of three days. For the Celts spent the first day cutting off, according to their custom, the heads of the dead. And for two days they lay encamped before the city, for when they saw the walls deserted and yet heard the noise made by those who were transferring their most useful possessions to the acropolis, they suspected that the Romans were planning a trap for them. But on the fourth day, after they had learned the true state of affairs, they broke down the gates and pillaged the city except for a few dwellings on the Palatine. After this they delivered daily assaults on strong positions, without, however. inflicting any serious hurt upon their opponents and with the loss of many of their own troops. Nevertheless, they did not relax their ardour, expecting that, even if they did not conquer by force, they would wear down the enemy in the course of time, when the necessities of life had entirely given out.

116. While the Romans were in such throes, the neighbouring Tyrrhenians advanced and made a raid with a strong army on the territory of the Romans, capturing many prisoners and not a small amount of booty. But the Romans who had fled to Veii, falling unexpectedly upon the Tyrrhenians, put them

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cp. Book 5. 29. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> οὖν after δ' deleted by Dindorf.

λείαν ἀφείλαντο καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἐκυρίευσαν. 2 ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ γενόμενοι πολλῶν ὅπλων τοῖς τε ἀν-όπλοις οὖσι διέδωκαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας άθροίζοντες καθώπλιζον έβούλοντο γάρ τους είς τὸ Καπετώλιον συμπεφευγότας έκ της πολιορκίας 3 έξελέσθαι. ἀπορούντων δ' αὐτῶν ὧ τρόπω δηλώσειαν τοις συγκεκλειμένοις διά το τους Κελτους μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι περιστρατοπεδεύειν, Κομίνιός τις Πόντιος υπέσχετο παραθαρρύνειν τους έν τω 4 Καπετωλίω. δρμήσας οὖν μόνος καὶ διανηξάμενος νυκτός τὸν ποταμόν, ἔλαθε προσελθών τινα πέτραν τοῦ Καπετωλίου δύσβατον, καὶ ταύτη μόγις έαυτὸν έλκύσας έδήλωσε τοις έν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ περὶ τῶν συνηθροισμένων είς Βηίους και διότι καιρον τηρήσαντες επιθήσονται τοις Κελτοις. οδτος μεν οδν καταβάς ήπερ ἀνέβη καὶ διακολυμβήσας τὸν Τί-5 βεριν, είς Βηίους ἀνέστρεψεν οι δέ Κελτοι κατανοήσαντες τὰ ἴχνη τοῦ προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότος, συνετάξαντο κατὰ τῆς αὐτῆς πέτρας ἀναβῆναι νυκτός. διὸ καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας οἱ μὲν φύλακες παρερραθυμηκότες ήσαν της φυλακής διά την οχυρότητα του τόπου, των δε Κελτων τινες κατά 6 της πέτρας προσανέβησαν. τους μεν οῦν φύλακας ἔλαθον, χῆνες δ' ίεροὶ τῆς "Ηρας τρεφόμενοι καὶ θεωρήσαντες ἀναβαίνοντας κραυγὴν ἐποίουν. συνδραμόντων δε των φυλάκων επί τον τόπον, οθτοι μεν καταπλαγέντες οὐκ ἐτόλμων προσελθεῖν, Μάρκος δέ τις Μάλλιος, ἔνδοξος ἀνήρ, ἐκβοηθήσας¹ έπὶ τὸν τόπον τῷ μὲν ξίφει τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ προσαναβαίνοντος ἀπέκοψε, τῷ δὲ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ 7 στῆθος ἀπεκύλισεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου προσαναβαίνοντος 312

to flight, took back the booty, and captured their 387 B.C. camp. Having got possession of arms in abundance. they distributed them among the unarmed, and they also gathered men from the countryside and armed them, since they intended to relieve the siege of the soldiers who had taken refuge on the Capitoline. While they were at a loss how they might reveal their plans to the besieged, since the Celts had surrounded them with strong forces, a certain Cominius Pontius undertook to get the cheerful news to the men on the Capitoline. Starting out alone and swimming the river by night, he got unseen to a cliff of the Capitoline that was hard to climb and, hauling himself up it with difficulty, told the soldiers on the Capitoline about the troops that had been collected in Veii and how they were watching for an opportunity and would attack the Celts. Then, descending by the way he had mounted and swimming the Tiber, he returned to Veii. The Celts, when they observed the tracks of one who had recently climbed up, made plans to ascend at night by the same cliff. Consequently about the middle of the night, while the guards were neglectful of their watch because of the strength of the place, some Celts started an ascent of the cliff. They escaped detection by the guards, but the sacred geese of Hera, which were kept there, noticed the climbers and set up a cackling. The guards rushed to the place and the Celts deterred did not dare proceed farther. A certain Marcus Mallius, a man held in high esteem, rushing to the defence of the place, cut off the hand of the climber with his sword and, striking him on the breast with his shield, rolled him from the cliff. In like manner the second climber

So Stephanus: ἐκβοήσας.

άπολομένου, οἱ λοιποὶ ταχέως πάντες ἔφυγον· ἀπορρώγος δὲ τῆς πέτρας οὖσης ἄπαντες κατακρημνισθέντες ετελεύτησαν. διόπερ πρεσβευομένων τῶν 'Ρωμαίων περὶ διαλύσεως, ἐπείσθησαν γιλίας λαβόντες λίτρας χρυσίου την πόλιν εκλιπεῖν

καὶ ἐκ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων χώρας ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

8 'Ρωμαΐοι δέ, τῶν μὲν οἰκιῶν κατεσκαμμένων, τῶν δὲ πλείστων πολιτῶν ἀπολωλότων, ἔδωκαν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένω καθ' ον προήρηται τόπον οικίαν οικοδομείν, και δημοσίας κεραμίδας έχορή-9 γουν, αξ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν πολιτικαὶ καλοῦνται. άπάντων οὖν προς τὴν ιδίαν προαίρεσιν οἰκοδομούντων, συνέβη τὰς κατὰ πόλιν όδους στενὰς γενέσθαι καὶ καμπάς έγούσας διόπερ υστερον αθξήθέντες οθκ ηδυνήθησαν εὐθείας ποιήσαι τὰς όδούς. λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ διότι τὸν χρυσοῦν κόσμον αἱ γυναῖκες είς την κοινην σωτηρίαν είσενέγκασαι ταύτης ἔτυχον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τιμῆς, ὥστ' ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν έφ' άρμάτων όχεῖσθαι κατά τὴν πόλιν.

117. Ταπεινών δ' ὄντων των 'Ρωμαίων διὰ τὴν προειρημένην συμφοράν, οἱ Οὐόλσκοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν χιλίαρχοι τῶν 'Ρωμαίων καταγράψαντες στρατιώτας, καὶ προαγαγόντες την δύναμιν είς υπαιθρον, έν τω καλουμένω Μαρκίω κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, απέχοντες από 2 'Ρώμης σταδίους διακοσίους. τῶν δὲ Οὐόλσκων μετά μείζονος στρατιας αντικαθημένων καὶ τῆ παρεμβολή προσβαλλόντων, οἱ κατὰ τὴν 'Ρώμην φοβηθέντες ύπερ των εν τω στρατοπέδω, κατέστη-3 σαν αὐτοκράτορα μὲν Μάρκον Φούριον . . . οὖτοι

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The famous Marcus Furius Camillus. The name of his 314

met his death, whereupon the rest all quickly turned 387 B.C. in flight. But since the cliff was precipitous they were all hurled headlong and perished. As a result of this, when the Romans sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace, they were persuaded, upon receipt of one thousand pounds of gold, to leave the city and to withdraw from Roman territory.

The Romans, now that their houses had been razed to the ground and the majority of their citizens slain, gave permission to anyone who wished to build a home in any place he chose, and supplied him at state expense with roof-tiles; and up to the present time these are known as "public tiles." Since every man naturally built his home where it suited his fancy, the result was that the streets of the city were narrow and crooked; consequently, when the population increased in later days, it was impossible to straighten the streets. Some also say that the Roman matrons, because they contributed their gold ornaments to the common safety, received from the people as a reward the right to ride through the city in chariots.

117. While the Romans were in a weakened condition because of the misfortune we have described, the Volscians went to war against them. Accordingly the Roman military tribunes enrolled soldiers, took the field with their army, and pitched camp on the Campus Martius, as it is called, two hundred stades distant from Rome. Since the Volscians lay over against them with a larger force and were assaulting the camp, the citizens in Rome, fearing for the safety of those in the encampment, appointed Marcus Furius dictator. These armed all the men of military

master of horse, C. Servilius Ahala (Livy, 6. 2. 5-6), has slipped from the text.

δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικία καθοπλίσαντες νυκτὸς ἐξῆλθον, καὶ καταλαβόντες ἄμ' ἡμέρα τοὺς Οὐόλσκους τῆ παρεμβολῆ προσμαχομένους, ἐπιφανέντες κατὰ νώτου ραδίως ἐτρέψαντο. ἐξελθόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς, εἰς μέσον ἀποληφθέντες οἱ Οὐόλσκοι σχεδὸν ἄπαντες κατεκόπησαν. διόπερ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἰσχυροὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ταύτην ἀσθενέστατοι τῶν περιοικούντων ἐθνῶν ἐγενήθησαν.

4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἀκούσας ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ πορθεῖσθαι Βώλας¹ ὑπὸ Αἰκουλανῶν, τῶν νῦν Αἰκίκλων καλουμένων, ἀγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀνεῖλεν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Σουτριανήν, οὖσαν ἀποικίαν, ἣν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ βία κατειλήφεισαν. προσπεσὼν οὖν ἄφνω τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἀνέσωσε τοῖς Σουτριαίοις.

5 Τῶν δ' ἀπεληλυθότων Γαλατῶν ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης Οὐεάσκιον τὴν πόλιν σύμμαχον οὖσαν 'Ρωμαίων πορθούντων, ἐπιθέμενος αὐτοῖς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποκτείνας τῆς ἀποσκευῆς πάσης ἐκυρίευσεν, ἐν ἢ καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἢν ὃ εἰλήφεισαν εἰς 'Ρώμην² καὶ σχεδὸν ἄπαντα τὰ διηρπασμένα 6 κατὰ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἄλωσιν. τοσαῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος διὰ τὸν φθόνον τῶν δημάρχων ἐκωλύθη θρίαμβον καταγαγεῖν. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Τούσκων θρίαμβον ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ λευκοῦ τεθρίππου.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσὶν ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου
<sup>1</sup> πόλιν after Βώλas deleted by Vogel.

### BOOK XIV, 117, 3-6

age and marched out during the night. At day-break 387 B.C. they caught the Volscians as they were assaulting the camp, and appearing on their rear easily put them to flight. When the troops in the camp then sallied forth, the Volscians were caught in the middle and cut down almost to a man. Thus a people that passed for powerful in former days was by this disaster reduced to the weakest among the neighbouring tribes.

After the battle the dictator, on hearing that Bola was being besieged by the Aeculani, who are now called the Aequicoli, led forth his troops and slew most of the besieging army. From here he marched to the territory of Sutrium, a Roman colony, which the Tyrrhenians had forcibly occupied. Falling unexpectedly upon the Tyrrhenians, he slew many of them and recovered the city for the people of Sutrium.

The Gauls on their way from Rome laid siege to the city of Veascium which was an ally of the Romans. The dictator attacked them, slew the larger number of them, and got possession of all their baggage, included in which was the gold which they had received for Rome and practically all the booty which they had gathered in the seizure of the city. Despite the accomplishment of such great deeds, envy on the part of the tribunes prevented his celebrating a triumph. There are some, however, who state that he celebrated a triumph for his victory over the Tuscans in a chariot drawn by four white horses, for which the people two years later fined him a large

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Otherwise the Aequi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> δ εἰλήφεισαν εἰς 'Ρώμην deleted by Vogel; Dindorf deletes εἰς 'Ρώμην; Post suggests εἰς 'Ρώμης λύτρωσιν.

πολλοῖς χρήμασι καταδικασθῆναι· περὶ οὖ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιμνησθησόμεθα. οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυγίαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἐληλυθότες ἀνέστρεψαν διὰ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων χώρας· καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὑπὸ Κερίων ἐπιβουτευθέντες νυκτὸς ἄπαντες κατεκό-

πησαν έν τῷ Τραυσίω πεδίω.

8 Καλλισθένης δ' ὁ ἱστοριογράφος ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν γενομένης εἰρήνης τοῖς Έλλησι πρὸς ᾿Αρταξέρξην τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα τὴν ἱστορίαν ἢρκται γράφειν· διελθὼν δὲ τριακονταετῆ χρόνον ἔγραψε μὲν βύβλους δέκα, τὴν δὲ τελευταίαν κατέπαυσε τῆς συντάξεως εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλομήλου² τοῦ Φωκέως κατάληψιν τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς 9 ἱεροῦ. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ πάρεσμεν ἐπὶ τὴν γενομένην τοῖς "Ελλησιν εἰρήνην πρὸς ᾿Αρταξέρξην καὶ τὸν τῆς 'Ρώμης ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν κίνδυνον, κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῷ πρόθεσιν τοῦτο³ τέλος ποιησόμεθα τῆσδε τῆς βίβλου.

<sup>2</sup> So Scaliger: μήλου.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦτο Hertlein : τοῦτο τό.

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων σύνταξιν after ἱστοριογράφος deleted by Dindorf.

## BOOK XIV, 117, 6-9

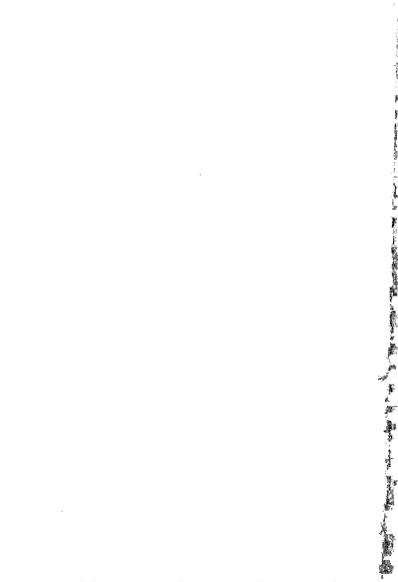
sum of money. But we shall recur to this in the 387 B.C. appropriate period of time.1 Those Celts who had passed into Iapygia turned back through the territory of the Romans; but soon thereafter the Cerii made a crafty attack on them by night and cut all

of them to pieces in the Trausian Plain.

The historian Callisthenes 2 began his history with the peace of this year between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, the King of the Persians. His account embraced a period of thirty years in ten Books and he closed the last Book of his history with the seizure of the Temple of Delphi by Philomelus the Phocian. But for our part, since we have arrived at the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, and at the threat to Rome offered by the Gauls, we shall make this the end of this Book, as we proposed at the beginning.3

<sup>1</sup> There is no later mention of this story.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Callisthenes of Olynthus was better known for his history of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied on his campaign until he lost the king's favour and was executed shortly <sup>8</sup> Cp. chap. 2. 4. after 327 B.C.



# BOOK XV

# Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῆ πεντεκαιδεκάτη τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων

'Ως Πέρσαι Εὐαγόραν ἐν τῆ Κύπρω διεπολέμησαν.

'Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς ὁμολογίας Μαντινείς μετώκισαν έκ τῆς πατρίδος.

Περί των Διονυσίου του τυράννου ποιημάτων.

Περὶ τῆς Τιριβάζου συλλήψεως καὶ τῆς ἀπολύσεως αὐτοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ Γλῶ¹ θανάτου καὶ τῆς 'Ορόντου καταγνώσεως.

'Ως 'Αμύντας καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς 'Ολυνθίους' ἐπολέμησαν,

<sup>ε</sup>Ως Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν Καδμείαν κατελάβοντο.

 $\Omega_{\rm S}$  τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας κατεδουλώσαντο.

Κτίσις Φάρου νήσου κατὰ τὸν ᾿Αδρίαν.

Διονυσίου στρατεία εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καὶ σύλησις τοῦ ἱεροῦ.

Στρατεία Διονυσίου ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους, καὶ νίκη καὶ ἦττα.

'Ως Θηβαίοι τὴν Καδμείαν ἀνεκτήσαντο.3

'Ως Καρχηδόνιοι λοιμική νόσφ περιπεσόντες έκινδύνευσαν.

So Wesseling: Γαῶ P, Γαὼ cet.
 So Wesseling: ᾿Αθηναίους.
 So Wesseling: ἀπεκτήσαντο.

# CONTENTS OF THE FIFTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

How the Persians fought against Evagoras in

Cyprus (chaps. 2-4, 8-9).

How the Lacedaemonians, contrary to the common agreements, deported the Mantineians from their native land (chaps. 5, 12).

On the poems of Dionysius the tyrant (chaps. 6-7).

On the arrest of Tiribazus and his acquittal (chaps.

8, 10-11).

On the death of Glös and the condemnation of Orontes (chaps. 11, 18).

How Amyntas and the Lacedaemonians made war

upon the Olynthians (chaps. 19, 21-23).

How the Lacedaemonians seized the Cadmeia (chap. 20).

How they enslaved the Greek cities contrary to

the covenants (chap. 23).

The settlement of the island of Pharos in the Adriatic (chap. 13).

The campaign of Dionysius against Tyrrhenia and

the plundering of the temple (chap. 14).

The campaign of Dionysius against the Carthaginians; his victory and defeat (chaps. 15-17).

How the Thebans recovered the Cadmeia (chaps.

25-27).

How the Carthaginians were endangered when afflicted by a plague (chap. 24).

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 $\Pi$ ερὶ τοῦ Βοιωτικοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων έν αὐτῷ.

Τριβαλλών στρατεία έπὶ "Αβδηρα.

Στρατεία Περσών ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

'Ως Θηβαίοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπιφανεστάτη μάχη νικήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀντεποιήσαντο τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας.

Τὰ πραχθέντα Θηβαίοις κατὰ τὰς εἰς Πελοπόννησον εἰσβολάς,

Περὶ τῆς Ἰφικράτους ἀγωγῆς καὶ τῶν εὑρημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς στρατείας.

Στρατεία Λακεδαιμονίων έπὶ Κόρκυραν.

Περὶ τοῦ γενομένου σεισμοῦ καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τῆς φανείσης ἐν οὐρανῷ λαμπάδος.

'Ως παρὰ τοῖς 'Αργείοις ἐγένετο πολὺς φόνος ὁ κληθεὶς σκυταλισμός.

Περὶ Ἰάσονος τοῦ Φερῶν τυράννου καὶ τῶν διαδόχων αὐτοῦ.

Μεσσήνης συνοικισμός ύπο Θηβαίων.

Στρατεία Βοιωτών εἰς Θεττωλίαν.

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On the Boeotian War and the events connected with it (chaps. 28-35).

The campaign of the Triballi against Abdera (chap.

36).

The campaign of the Persians against Egypt

(chaps. 41-43).

How the Thebans defeated the Lacedaemonians in the most famous battle of Leuctra and laid claim to the supremacy of Greece (chaps. 50-56).

The accomplishments of the Thebans during their invasions of the Peloponnesus (chaps, 62-66, 69, 75,

82-88 passim).

On the system of training of Iphicrates and his discoveries in the art of war (chap. 44).

The campaign of the Lacedaemonians against

Coreyra (chaps. 46-47).

On the earthquake and inundation that took place in the Peloponnesus and the torch that appeared in the heavens (chaps. 48-50).

How there took place among the Argives a great slaughter which was called the reign of club-law

(chaps. 57-58).

On Jason, the tyrant of Pherae, and his successors (chaps. 57, 60, 80, 95).

The synoecismos of Messenê by the Thebans (chaps.

66-67).

The campaign of the Boeotians against Thessaly (chap. 67).

## ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

 Παρ' όλην τὴν πραγματείαν εἰωθότες χρῆσθαι τη συνήθει της ίστορίας παρρησία, καὶ τοῖς μὲν άγαθοις άνδράσιν ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων τὸν δίκαιον έπιλέγειν έπαινον, τούς δὲ φαύλους, ὅταν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἀξιοῦν δικαίας ἐπιτιμήσεως, διὰ τοῦ τοιούτου τρόπου νομίζομεν τοὺς μὲν εὖ πεφυκότας πρὸς άρετὴν τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανατισμῷ προτρέψεσθαι ταις καλλίσταις έγχειρειν πράξεσι, τους δε την έναντίαν έχοντας διάθεσιν ταῖς άρμοττούσαις βλασφημίαις ἀποτρέψειν της ἐπὶ την κακίαν δρμης. 2 διὸ καὶ τῆ γραφῆ παρόντες ἐπ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, έν οἷς Λακεδαιμόνιοι περί Λεῦκτρα παραδόξως ήττηθέντες μεγάλη περιέπεσον συμφορά, καὶ πάλιν περί Μαντίνειαν πταίσαντες άνελπίστως άπέβαλον την των Ελλήνων ήγεμονίαν, ήγούμεθα δείν την ύπόστασιν της γραφης διαφυλάττειν καὶ την άρμόττουσαν ἐπιτίμησιν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιήσασθαι. Τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐχ ἡγήσαιτο κατηγορίας αὐτοὺς

1ίς γάρ ἄν ούχ ἡγήσαιτο κατηγορίας αὐτοὺς ἀξίους ὑπάρχειν, οἴτινες παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες ἡγεμονίαν κάλλιστα τεθεμελιωμένην, καὶ ταύτην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν προγόνων διαφυλαχθεῖσαν ἔτη πλείω τῶν πεντακοσίων, οἱ τότε Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὴν ἐαυτῶν ἀβουλίαν καταλυθεῖσαν ἐπεῖδον; οὐκ ἀλόγως οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν βε-326

# BOOK XV

1. Throughout our entire treatise our practice has been to employ the customary freedom of speech enjoyed by history, and we have added just praise of good men for their fair deeds and meted out just censure upon bad men whenever they did wrong. By this means, as we believe, we shall lead men whose nature fortunately inclines them to virtue to undertake, because of the immortality fame accords them, the fairest deeds, whereas by appropriate obloquies we shall turn men of the opposite character from their impulse to evil. Consequently, since we have come in our writing to the period when the Lacedaemonians fell upon deep distress in their unexpected defeat at Leuctra, and again in their unlooked-for repulse at Mantineia lost the supremacy over the Greeks, we believe that we should maintain the principle we have set for our writing and set forth the appropriate censure of the Lacedaemonians.

For who would not judge men to be deserving of accusation who had received from their ancestors a supremacy with such firm foundations and that too preserved by the high spirit of their ancestors for over five hundred years, and now beheld it, as the Lacedaemonians of that time did, overthrown by their own folly? And this is easy to understand. For the men who had lived before them won the glory

βιωκότες πολλοις πόνοις καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις την τηλικαύτην κατεκτήσαντο δόξαν, ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσφερόμενοι τοῖς υποτεταγμένοις· οί δὲ μεταγενέστεροι βιαίως καὶ χαλεπῶς χρώ-μενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἔτι δὲ πολέμους ἀδίκους καὶ ύπερηφάνους ενιστάμενοι πρός τους Έλληνας, ουκ αλόγως ἀπέβαλον την ἀρχην διὰ τὰς ἰδίας άβουλίας. 4 εν γάρ ταις συμφοραις αὐτῶν τὸ μίσος τῶν ἀδικουμένων έλαβε καιρόν αμύνασθαι τούς προηδικηκότας, καὶ τοῖς ἐκ προγόνων ἀνικήτοις γεγονόσι τοσαύτη καταφρόνησις επηκολούθησεν όσην εικός έστι γενέσθαι κατά των άναιρούντων τὰς των προγόνων 5 άρετάς. τοιγαροῦν Θηβαῖοι μὲν οἱ πρότερον ἐπὶ πολλάς γενεάς τοις κρείττοσιν υποτεταγμένοι, τότε τούτους άνελπίστως νικήσαντες ήγεμόνες κατέστησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ τήν άφαίρεσιν της ήγεμονίας οὐδέποτ' έδυνήθησαν ἀνά-

λαβεῖν τὸ τῶν προγόνων ἀξίωμα.

Καρίτως δε τούτοις άρκούντως επιτετιμηκότες επί τὸ συνεχες της ίστορίας μεταβησόμεθα προδιορίσαντες τοὺς οἰκείους τη γραφη χρόνους. ή μεν οὖν πρὸ ταύτης βύβλος, οὖσα της όλης συντάξεως τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη, τὸ τέλος ἔσχε τῶν πράξεων εἰς τὸν Ἡηγίνων ἀνδραποδισμὸν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν της Ἡρώμης ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν, ήτις εγένετο κατὰ τὸν προηγούμενον ενιαυτὸν της Περσῶν στρατείας εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὰ Εὐαγόραν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν ταύτη δε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι καταλήξομεν ἐπὶ τὸν προηγούμενον ενιαυτὸν της Φιλίππου τοῦ ᾿Αμύντου βασιλείας.

<sup>1</sup> So Reiske : φόνοις. 2 τούτους Vogel, τοὺς P Peir., τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους cet.

# BOOK XV. 1. 3-6

they had by many labours and great struggles, treating their subjects the while fairly and humanely; but their successors used their allies roughly and harshly, stirring up, besides, unjust and insolent wars against the Greeks, and so it is quite to be understood that they lost their rule because of their own acts of folly. For the hatred of those they had wronged found in their disasters an opportunity to retaliate upon their aggressors, and they who had been unconquered from their ancestors' time were now attended by such contempt as, it stands to reason, must befall those who obliterate the virtues that characterized This explains why the Thebans, their ancestors. who for many generations had been subjects of their superiors, when they defeated them to everyone's surprise, became supreme among the Greeks, but the Lacedaemonians, when once they had lost the supremacy, were never at any time able to recover the high position enjoyed by their ancestors.

Now that we have sufficiently censured the Lace-daemonians, we shall in turn pass on to the further course of our history, after we have first set the time-limits of this section. The preceding Book, which is the fourteenth of our narrative, closed with the events concerned with the enslaving of the Rhegians by Dionysius and the capture of Rome by the Gauls, which took place in the year preceding the campaign of the Persians in Cyprus against Evagoras the king. In this Book we shall begin with this war and close with the year preceding the reign of Philip the son

of Amyntas.1

<sup>1</sup> The book covers the years 386-361 B.C.

 <sup>3</sup> So Wesseling : τοὺς συνεχεῖς.
 4 προδιορίσαντες τοὺς οἰκείους Wesseling (12. 2. 2): πρός.

2. Έπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ 'Αθήνησι Μυστιχίδου 'Ρωμαῖοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους τρεῖς κατέστησαν, Μάρκον Φούριον, ἔτι δὲ Γάιον καὶ Αίμίλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ᾿Αρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύς έστράτευσεν έπ' Εὐαγόραν τὸν Κύπρου βασιλέα. πολύν δὲ χρόνον ἀσχοληθεὶς περὶ τὰς είς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευάς συνεστήσατο δύναμιν ναυτικήν τε καὶ πεζην μεγάλην το μεν γάρ πεζον στράτευμα μυριάδων ην τριάκοντα συν ίππεῦσι. τριήρεις δε κατεσκεύασε πλείους των τριακοσίων. 2 στρατηγούς δ' ἀπέδειξε της πεζης δυνάμεως 'Ορόντην κηδεστήν, της δε ναυτικής Τιρίβαζον, άνδρα μεγάλης ἀποδοχής τυγχάνοντα παρά τοις Πέρσαις. οθτοι δέ παραλαβόντες τας δυνάμεις έν Φωκαία καὶ Κύμη κατήντησαν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ περαιωθέντες είς Κύπρον ένεργως διώκουν τον πόλεμον.

3 'Ο δ' Εὐαγόρας πρὸς μὲν τὸν "Ακοριν τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα, πολέμιον ὄντα Περσῶν, συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παρ' αὐτοῦ προσελάβετο, παρ' Ἑκατόμνου δὲ τοῦ Καρίας δυνάστου, λάθρα συμπράττοντος αὐτῷ, χρημάτων ἔλαβε πλῆθος εἰς διατροφὴν ξενικῶν δυνάμεων ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ² τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας πρὸς Πέρσας, τοὺς μὲν λαθραίως, τοὺς δὲ καὶ φανερῶς ἐπεσπάσατο κοινωνήσοντας τοῦ Περσικοῦ 4 πολέμου. ἐκυρίευε δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Κύπρον τῶν πόλεων σχεδόν τι πασῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην Τύρου καί τινων ἑτέρων. εἶχε δὲ τριήρεις μὲν ἐνενήκοντα, καὶ τούτων ὑπῆρχον Τύριαι μὲν εἴκοσι, Κύπριαι δ' ἐβδομήκοντα, στρατιώτας δ' ιδίους μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πολλῷ τού-

4

2. When Mystichides was archon in Athens, the 3% B.C. Romans elected in place of consuls three military tribunes, Marcus Furius, Gaius, and Aemilius. year Artaxerxes, the King of the Persians, made war upon Evagoras, the king of Cyprus. He busied himself for a long time with the preparations for the war and gathered a large armament, both naval and land; his land force consisted of three hundred thousand men including cavalry, and he equipped more than three hundred triremes. As commanders he chose for the land force his brother-in-law Orontes. and for the naval Tiribazus, a man who was held in high favour among the Persians. These commanders took over the armaments in Phocaea and Cymê, repaired to Cilicia, and passed over to Cyprus, where they prosecuted the war with vigour.

Evagoras made an alliance with Acoris, the king of the Egyptians, who was an enemy of the Persians, and received a strong force from him, and from Hecatomnus, the lord of Caria, who was secretly co-operating with him, he got a large sum of money to support his mercenary troops. Likewise he drew on such others to join in the war with Persia as were at odds with the Persians, either secretly or openly. He was master of practically all the cities of Cyprus, and of Tyre and some others in Phoenicia. He also had ninety triremes, of which twenty were Tyrian and seventy were Cyprian, six thousand soldiers of his own subjects, and many more than this number

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The proper spelling is Hacori.

πρὸς after καὶ deleted by Wesseling.
 So Dindorf: πλέον PA, τὸ πλέον cet.

των πλείους. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς ἐξενολόγει, ἔχων χρημάτων δαψίλειαν. ἔπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῶν ᾿Αράβων¹ βασιλεὺς στρατιώτας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντες τῷ

τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖ.

3. Οὖτος μέν οὖν τοσαύτας ἀφορμὰς ἔχων τεθαρρηκότως συγκατέβαινεν είς τον πόλεμον. καὶ πρώτον μέν ληστρικάς έχων ναῦς οὐκ ὀλίγας ἐφήδρευσε ταις κομιζομέναις των πολεμίων άγοραις, καὶ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν διέφθειρεν ἐν θαλάττη, τὰς δὲ διεκώλυσεν, ενίας δε άφείλατο. διο καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων μή τολμώντων είς τήν Κύπρον παρακομίζειν σῖτον, μεγάλων δὲ δυνάμεων ήθροισμένων εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ταχὺ σιτοδεία κατέσχε τὸ τῶν Περσῶν της δ' ἀπορίας γενομένης 2 στρατόπεδον. στάσιν, οἱ μισθοφόροι τῶν Περσῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ήγεμόνας δρμήσαντες καί τινας ανελόντες ταραχής καὶ στάσεως ἐνέπλησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. μόγις δ' οί στρατηγοί των Περσών και ό της ναυτικης δυνάμεως ήγούμενος, ονομαζόμενος δε Γλώς, κατ-3 έπαυσαν τὴν στάσιν. πλεύσαντες δὲ τῷ παντὶ στόλω καὶ σίτου πληθος ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας παρακομίσαντες, πολλὴν παρείχον τής τροφής δαψίλειαν. τῷ δ' Εὐαγόρα σίτου πλήθος ίκανὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς "Ακορις ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου παρεκόμισε καὶ χρήματα 4 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἱκανὴν ἐξέπεμψεν. δ δ' Εὐαγόρας όρων έαυτον πολύ λειπόμενον τῆ ναυτική δυνάμει, έξήκοντα μεν ναῦς ἄλλας προσεπλήρωσε, πεντήκοντα δὲ παρὰ 'Ακόριδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεπέμψατο, ώστε τὰς πάσας ἔχειν τριήρεις διακοσίας. ταύτας δὲ κοσμήσας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν καταπληκτικώς, καὶ συνεχεῖς διαπείρας καὶ γυ-332

from his allies. In addition to these he enlisted many 386 B.O. mercenaries, since he had funds in abundance. And not a few soldiers were sent him by the king of the Arabs and by certain others of whom the King of the Persians was suspicious.

3. Since Evagoras had such advantages, he entered the war with confidence. First, since he had not a few boats of the sort used for piracy, he lay in wait for the supplies coming to the enemy, sank some of their ships at sea, drove off others, and captured yet others. Consequently the merchants did not dare to convey food to Cyprus; and since large armaments had been gathered on the island, the army of the Persians soon suffered from lack of food and the want led to revolt, the mercenaries of the Persians attacking their officers, slaying some of them, and filling the camp with tumult and revolt. It was with difficulty that the generals of the Persians and the leader of the naval armament, known as Glos, put an end to the mutiny. Sailing off with their entire fleet, they transported a large quantity of grain from Cilicia and provided a great abundance of food. As for Evagoras, King Acoris transported an adequate supply of grain from Egypt and sent him money and adequate supplies for every other need. Evagoras, seeing that he was much inferior in naval strength, fitted out sixty additional ships and sent for fifty from Acoris in Egypt, so that he had in all two hundred triremes. These he fitted out for battle in a way to cause terror and by continued trials and drill got ready for a sea

So Rhodoman : βαρβάρων.
 So Wesseling : Γαῶ P, Γαώ cet.

μνασίας ποιούμενος, ήτοιμάζετο πρός ναυμαχίαν. διὸ καὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στόλου παραπλέοντος εἰς Κίτιον, ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιπλεύσας ταῖς ναυσὶ¹ 5 πολλά τῶν Περσῶν ἐπλεονέκτει. ἐπέβαλε γὰρ συντεταγμέναις ναυσίν έπι άσυντάκτους, και προβεβουλευμένοις άνδράσι πρός άπροσδοκήτους άγωνιζόμενος εὐθὺς ἐν τῆ πρώτη συστάσει τὴν νίκην προκατεσκεύασεν ἀθρόαις γὰρ ταῖς τριήρεσιν ἐπιπλεύσας ἐπὶ διεσπαρμένας καὶ τεταραγμένας, ἃς 6 μὲν διέφθειρεν, ἃς δ' ἐχειροῦτο. ὅμως δὲ τοῦ τε ναυάρχου τῶν Περσῶν Γλῶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων γενναίως ὑποστάντων, ἐγένετο ναυμαχία καρτερά, καθ' ἣν ὁ Εὐαγόρας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ύπερείχεν, ύστερον δέ τοῦ Γλῶ μετὰ τοῦ βάρους έπενεχθέντος και γενναίως αγωνισαμένου συνέβη φυγείν τους περί τον Ευαγόραν και πολλάς των

τριήρων ἀποβαλεῖν.

4. Οί δὲ Πέρσαι τῆ ναυμαχία νικήσαντες εἰς Κίτιον πόλιν άμφοτέρας τὰς δυνάμεις ήθροισαν. έκ ταύτης δ' δρμώμενοι πολιορκίαν συνεστήσαντο πρὸς τῆ Σαλαμίνι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπόρθουν κατὰ 2 γην άμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. καὶ Τιρίβαζος μὲν μετά την ναυμαχίαν διαβάς είς Κιλικίαν, κάκειθεν πορευθείς πρός του βασιλέα, τήν τε νίκην ἀπήγγειλε καὶ δισχίλια τάλαντα πρός τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεκόμισεν· Εὐαγόρας δὲ πρὸ μὲν τῆς ναυμαχίας παρὰ θάλατταν πεζῆ συμβαλών μέρει τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως προετέρησε καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐθαρσὴς καθειστήκει, τη δε ναυμαχία πταίσας καὶ συν-3 κλεισθείς εἰς πολιορκίαν ἀθύμως εἶχεν. ὅμως δὲ κρίνας ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, Πνυταγόραν² μὲν τὸν υίον ἀπέλιπεν ήγεμόνα των όλων ποιήσας έν τη 334

engagement. Consequently, when the King's fleet 386 B.C. sailed past toward Citium, he fell upon the ships unexpectedly and had a great advantage over the Persians. For he attacked with his ships in compact array ships in disorder, and since he fought with men whose plans were prepared against men unready, he at once at the first encounter won a prearranged victory. For, attacking as he did with his triremes in close order triremes that were scattered and in confusion, he sank some and captured others. the Persian admiral Glos and the other commanders put up a gallant resistance, and a fierce struggle developed in which at first Evagoras held the upper hand. Later, however, when Glös attacked in strong force and put up a gallant fight, the result was that Evagoras turned in flight and lost many of his triremes.

4. The Persians after their victory in the sea-fight gathered both their sea and land forces at the city of Citium. From this as their base they organized a siege of Salamis and beleaguered the city both by land and by sea. Meantime Tiribazus crossed over to Cilicia after the sea-fight and continued thence to the King, reported the victory, and brought back two thousand talents for the prosecution of the war. Before the sea-fight, Evagoras, who had fallen in with a body of the land force near the sea and defeated it, had been confident of success, but when he suffered defeat in the sea-fight and found himself besieged, he lost heart. Nevertheless, deciding to continue the war, he left his son Pnytagoras behind as supreme commander in Cyprus and himself took

<sup>1</sup> συντεταγμέναις after ναυοί deleted by Hertlein.
2 So Wesseling: Πυθαγόραν.

Κύπρω, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβών δέκα τριήρεις νυκτὸς ἔλαθε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκπλεύσας ἐκ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος. κομισθεὶς δ' εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ συντυχών τῷ βασιλεῖ, παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἐρρωμένως ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ κοινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας πόλεμον.

5. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Λακεδαιμόνιοι μεν έγνωσαν στρατεύειν έπὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὐδεν φροντίσαντες των γεγενημένων σπονδών, διά τοιαύτας αἰτίας. προϋπαρχούσης τοῖς "Ελλησι κοινης" εἰρήνης τῆς ἐπὶ ᾿Ανταλκίδου, καθ᾽ ἣν αἱ πόλεις απασαι τὰς μὲν φρουρὰς ἀπετρίψαντο, τὴν δ' αὐτονομίαν καθ' δμολογίαν παρέλαβον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι φύσει φιλαρχοῦντες καὶ πολεμικοὶ ταῖς αἰρέσεσιν όντες, την είρηνην ωσπερ βαρύ φορτίον ούχ υπέμενον, την δέ προγεγενημένην της Ελλάδος δυναστείαν επιποθοῦντες μετέωροι ταῖς δρμαῖς ὑπῆρχον 2 πρός καινοτομίαν. εὐθὺς οὖν τὰς μὲν πόλεις συνετάραττον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων στάσεις ἐγκατεσκεύαζον εν αὐταῖς, ὧν ενιαι πιθανάς άφορμάς αὐτοῖς παρέσχοντο τῆς ταραχῆς. ἀπολαβοῦσαι γὰρ τας αὐτονομίας λόγον ἀπήτουν παρά τῶν ἐπεστατηκότων έπὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ήγεμονίας πικρών δέ των έλέγχων γινομένων διά το μνησικακείν τούς δήμους, καὶ πολλών φυγαδευομένων, ἀπέδειξαν 3 έαυτούς βοηθούς τοῖς καταστασιαζομένοις. ύποδεχόμενοι δε τούτους καὶ μετά δυνάμεως εκπέμποντες ἐπὶ τὰς καθόδους, κατεδουλοῦντο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὰς ἀσθενεστέρας πόλεις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ 336

ten triremes, eluded the enemy, and got away from 886 B.C. Salamis. On arriving in Egypt he met the king and urged him to continue the war energetically and to consider the war against the Persians a common

undertaking.

5. While these events were taking place, the Lacedaemonians determined to make war upon Mantineia, without regard to the standing treaty,1 for the following reasons. The Greeks were enjoying the general peace of Antalcidas, in accordance with which all the cities had got rid of their garrisons and recovered by agreement their autonomy. The Lacedaemonians, however, who by their nature loved to command and by policy preferred war, would not tolerate the peace which they considered to be a heavy burden, and longing for their past dominance over Greece, they were poised and alert to begin a new movement. At once, then, they stirred up the cities and formed partisan groups in them with the aid of their friends, being provided in some of the cities with plausible grounds for interference. For the cities, after having recovered their autonomy, demanded an accounting of the men who had been in control under the Lacedaemonian supremacy; and since the procedure was harsh, because the people bore enmity for past injuries and many were sent into exile, the Lacedaemonians took it upon themselves to give support to the defeated faction. By receiving these men and dispatching a force with them to restore them to their homes, they at first enslaved the weaker cities, but afterward made war

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Referring to the Peace of Antalcidas (Book 14. 110. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς κοινῆς PALF; τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κοινῆς cet.

τὰς ἀξιολογωτέρας καταπολεμοῦντες ὑπηκόους ἐποί-

ουν, οὐδὲ δύο ἔτη φυλάξαντες τὰς κοινὰς σπονδάς. Πλησιόχωρον δ' ὁρῶντες¹ οὖσαν τὴν τῶν Μαντινέων πόλιν καὶ πλήθουσαν ἀνδρῶν ἀλκίμων, ὑπώπτευσαν αὐτης την αὔξησιν την γινομένην ἐκ της εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔσπευ-4 δον ταπεινώσαι. διό καὶ τὸ μὲν πρώτον πρέσβεις αποστείλαντες πρός την Μαντίνειαν προσέταττον τὰ μὲν τείχη καθελεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μετοικῆσαι πάντας είς τὰς ἀρχαίας πέντε κώμας, έξ ὧν είς τὴν Μαντίνειαν τὸ παλαιὸν συνώκησαν οὐδενὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς προσέχοντος, δύναμιν ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπολιόρ-5 κουν την πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Μαντινεῖς εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντες ήξίουν έαυτοῖς βοηθήσαι. οὐ προαιρουμένων δὲ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων παραβαίνειν τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας, ὅμως καθ' αύτοὺς ὑποστάντες την πολιορκίαν εθρώστως ημύνοντο τους πολεμίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καινών πολέμων άρχην ελάμβανεν.

6. Κατά δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος ἀπολελυμένος τῶν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πολέμων πολλήν εἰρήνην καὶ σχολήν εἶχεν. διὸ καὶ ποιήματα γράφειν ὑπεστήσατο μετὰ πολλης σπουδής, και τους έν τούτοις δόξαν έχοντας μετεπέμπετο καὶ προτιμῶν αὐτοὺς συνδιέτριβε καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπιστάτας καὶ διορθωτὰς είχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τοῖς πρὸς χάριν λόγοις μετεωριζόμενος έκαυχατο πολύ μαλλον έπὶ τοῖς 2 ποιήμασιν ή τοις έν πολέμω κατωρθωμένοις. των δέ συνόντων αὐτῶ ποιητῶν Φιλόξενος ὁ διθυραμon and forced the more important cities to submit, 386 B.G. having preserved the general peace no longer than two years.

Seeing that the city of the Mantineians lay upon their borders and was full of valiant men, the Lacedaemonians were jealous of its growth which had resulted from the peace and were bent on humbling the pride of its citizens. First of all, therefore, they dispatched ambassadors to Mantineia, commanding them to destroy their walls and all of them to remove to the original five villages from which they had of old united to form Mantineia. When no one paid any attention to them, they sent out an army and laid siege to the city. The Mantineians dispatched ambassadors to Athens, asking for aid. When the Athenians did not choose to make a breach of the common peace, the Mantineians none the less withstood the siege on their own account and stoutly resisted the enemy. In this way, then, fresh wars got a start in Greece.

6. In Sicily Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, now that he was relieved of wars with the Carthaginians, enjoyed great peace and leisure. Consequently he devoted himself with much seriousness to the writing of poetry, and summoning men of repute in this line, he accorded them special honours and resorted to them, making use of them as instructors and revisers of his poems. Elated by the flattering words with which these men repaid his benefactions, Dionysius boasted far more of his poems than of his successes in war. Among the poets in his company was Philoxenus 1 the writer of dithyrambs,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of Cythera.

<sup>1</sup> δρώντες added by Wurm.

βοποιός, μέγιστον έχων άξίωμα κατά την κατασκευήν τοῦ ἰδίου ποιήματος, κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν τοῦ τυράννου ποιημάτων μοχθηρῶν ὄντων ἐπηρωτήθη περὶ τῶν ποιημάτων τίνα κρίσιν ἔχοι. ἀποκριναμένου δ' αὐτοῦ παρρησιωδέστερον, ο μεν τύραννος προσκόψας τοῖς ρηθεῖσι, καὶ καταμεμψάμενος ὅτι διὰ φθόνον ἐβλασφήμησε, προσέταξε τοις ύπηρέταις παραχρημα 3 ἀπάγειν εις τὰς λατομίας. τῆ δ' ὑστεραία τῶν φίλων παρακαλούντων συγγνώμην δοῦναι τῷ Φιλοφίλων παρακεκουντων συγγνωρών σου του του ξένω, διαλλαγείς αὐτῷ πάλιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς παρέλαβεν επὶ τὸ συμπόσιον. προβαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, καὶ πάλιν τοῦ Διονυσίου καυχωμένου περὶ τῶν ίδίων ποιημάτων, καί τινας στίχους των δοκούντων έπιτετεθγθαι προενεγκαμένου, καὶ ἐπερωτώντος Ποῖά τινά σοι φαίνεται τὰ ποιήματα ὑπάρχειν; ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπε, τοὺς δ' ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Διονυσίου προσκαλεσάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν 4 είς τὰς λατομίας. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν εὐτραπελίαν τῶν λόγων μειδιάσας ὁ Διονύσιος ἤνεγκε τὴν παρρησίαν, τοῦ γέλωτος τὴν μέμψιν ἀμβλύ-νοντος μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῶν γνωρίμων ἄμα<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ Διονυσίου παραιτουμένων τὴν ἄκαιρον παρρησίαν, ο Φιλόξενος επηγγείλατο παράδοξόν τινα ἐπαγγελίαν. ἔφη γὰρ διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τηρήσειν ἄμα καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν εὐδόκησιν 5 τοῦ Διονυσίου, καὶ οὐ διεψεύσθη. τοῦ γὰρ τυράννου προενεγκαμένου τινάς στίχους έχοντας έλεεινά πάθη, καὶ ἐρωτήσαντος Ποῖά τινα φαίνεται τὰ ποιήματα; εἶπεν Οἰκτρά, διὰ τῆς ἀμφιβολίας ἀμφότερα τηρήσας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Διονύσιος ἐδέξατο Vogel follows Madvig in reading ἄμ' ἐκείνου.

who enjoyed very high repute as a composer in his 386 B.C. own line. After dinner, when the compositions of the tyrant, which were wretched, had been read, he was asked what was his judgement of the poetry. When he replied with a good deal of frankness, the tyrant, offended at his words, found fault with him that he had been moved by jealousy to use scurrilous language and commanded his servants to drag him off forthwith to the quarries. On the next day, however, when Philoxenus' friends made petition for a grant of pardon, Dionysius made up with him and again included the same men in his company after dinner. As the drinking advanced, again Dionysius boasted of the poetry he had written, recited some lines which he considered to be happily composed, and then asked, "What do you think of the verses?" To this Philoxenus said not a word, but called Dionysius' servants and ordered them to take him away to the quarries. Now at the time Dionysius, smiling at the ready wit of the words, tolerated the freedom of speech, since the joke took the edge off the censure. But when some time later his acquaintances and Dionysius as well asked him to desist from his untimely frankness, Philoxenus made a paradoxical offer. He would, he said, in his answer both respect the truth and keep the favour of Dionysius. Nor did he fail to make his word good. For when the tyrant produced some lines that described harrowing events, and asked, "How do the verses strike you?", he replied, "Pitiful!", keeping his double promise by the ambiguity. For Dionysius took the word "pitiful" as

τὰ οἰκτρὰ εἶναι ἐλεεινὰ καὶ συμπαθείας πλήρη, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα εἶναι ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτεύγματα, ὅθεν ὡς ἐπηνεκότα αὐτὸν ἀπεδέχετο· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἀληθινὴν διάνοιαν ἐκδεξάμενοι πᾶν τὸ οἰκτρὸν

τὸν φιλόσοφον γενέσθαι. μεταπεμψάμενος γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδοχῆς ἡξίου τῆς

ἀποτεύγματος φύσιν¹ εἰρῆσθαι διελάμβανον. 7. Παραπλήσιον δὲ συνέβη καὶ περὶ Πλάτωνα

μεγίστης, δρών αὐτὸν παρρησίαν ἔχοντα ἀξίαν τῆς φιλοσοφίας υστερον δ' έκ τινων λόγων προσκόψας αὐτῶ παντελῶς ἀπηλλοτριώθη, καὶ προαγαγών εἰς τὸ πρατήριον ώς ἀνδράποδον ἀπέδοτο μνῶν εἴκοσι. άλλα τοῦτον μεν οι φιλόσοφοι συνελθόντες εξηγόρασαν καὶ έξαπέστειλαν είς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φιλικὴν νουθεσίαν επιφθεγξάμενοι, διότι δει τον σοφόν τοῖς τυράννοις ἢ ώς ἥκιστα ἢ ώς ἥδιστα όμιλεῖν. Ο δε Διονύσιος της είς τὰ ποιήματα σπουδης οὖκ ἀφιστάμενος εἰς μὲν τὴν 'Ολυμπιακὴν πανήγυριν έξαπέστειλε τούς εὐφωνοτάτους τῶν ὑπο-΄κριτῶν διαθησομένους ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις μετ' ὠδῆς τὰ ποιήματα. οὖτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τὴν ευφωνίαν εξέπληττον τους ακούοντας, μετά δε ταῦτα ἀναθεωρήσεως γενομένης κατεφρονήθησαν 3 καὶ πολύν ἀπηνέγκαντο γέλωτα. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος άκούσας την των ποιημάτων καταφρόνησιν ένέπεσεν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν λύπης· αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ πάθους

επίτασιν λαμβάνοντος, μανιώδης διάθεσις κατέσχε την ψυχην αὐτοῦ, καὶ φθονεῖν αὐτῷ φάσκων ἄπαντας τοὺς φίλους ὑπώπτευεν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας,

 $<sup>^1</sup>$ πᾶν . . . φύσιν] Post suggests παρὰ τὸ οἰκτρὸν ἀποτεύγματος ἔμφασιν.  $^2$  φιλόσοφοι] φίλοι Reiske, Vogel,

signifying harrowing and deeply moving, which are \$85 B.C. successful effects of good poets, and therefore rated him as having approved them; the rest, however, who caught the real meaning, conceived that the word "pitiful" was only employed to suggest failure.

7. Much the same thing, as it happened, also occurred in the case of Plato the philosopher. Dionysius summoned this man to his court and at first deigned to show him the highest favour, since he saw that he practised the freedom of speech that philosophy is entitled to. But later, being offended at some of his statements, he became altogether alienated from him, exposed him in the market, and sold him as a slave for twenty minas. Those who were philosophers, however, joined together, purchased his freedom, and sent him off to Greece with the friendly admonition that a wise man should associate with tyrants either as little as possible or with the best grace possible.<sup>1</sup>

Dionysius did not renounce his zeal for poetry but dispatched to the Olympic Games <sup>2</sup> actors with the most pleasing voices who should present a musical performance of his poems for the assembled throng. At first their pleasing voices filled the hearers with admiration, but later, on further reflection, the reciters were despised and rewarded with laughter. Dionysius, on learning of the slight that was cast upon his poems, fell into a fit of melancholy.<sup>3</sup> His condition grew constantly worse and a madness seized his mind, so that he kept saying that he was the victim of jealousy and suspected all his friends

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The saying is also attributed to Aesop (Book 9, 28).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cp. Book 14. 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact Dionysius won the prize at the Lenaea with a play, the *Ransom of Hector*.

καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προῆλθε λύττης¹ καὶ παρακοπῆς, ὥστε τῶν φίλων πολλοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ψευδέσιν αἰτίαις ἀνελεῖν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐν οἶς ἦν Φίλιστος καὶ Λεπτίνης ὁ ἀδελφός, ἄνδρες διαφέροντες ἀνδρεία καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας 4 χρείας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αὐτῷ παρεσχημένοι. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν φυγόντες εἰς Θουρίους τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰταλιώταις μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνοντες, ὕστερον δεηθέντος τοῦ Διονυσίου διηλλάγησαν, καὶ κατελθόντες εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας εἰς τὴν προϋπάρξασαν εὔνοιαν ἀποκατεστάθησαν ὁ δὲ Λεπτίνης ἔγημε τὴν Διονυσίου θυγατέρα.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνι-

αυτόν.

8. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Αθήνησι Δεξιθέου 'Ρωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Λουκρήτιον καὶ Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Εὐαγόρας μὲν ὁ τῶν Σαλαμινίων βασιλεὺς ἦκεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, κομίζων χρήματα παρὰ ᾿Ακόριδος τοῦ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου ἐλάττονα τῶν προσδοκηθέντων. καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα πολιορκουμένην ἐνεργῶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καταλειπόμενος, ἢναγκάσθη πρεσβεῦσαι περὶ συλ2 λύσεως. ὁ δὲ Τιρίβαζος τῶν ὅλων ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔφησε συγχωρῆσαι τὴν σύλλυσιν, ἐὰν Εὐαγόρας ἐκχωρήση πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον πόλεων, αὐτῆς² δὲ μόνης τῆς Σαλαμῖνος βασιλεύων τελῆ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν φόρον ώρισμένον καὶ ποιῆ τὸ προσταττόμενον ὡς δοῦλος 3 δεσπότη. ὁ δ' Εὐαγόρας, καίπερ βαρείας οὔσης τῆς αἰρέσεως, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα συνεχώρει, τὸ δ' ὡς δοῦλον δεσπότη ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον 844

of plotting against him. At last his frenzy and mad-386 B.C. ness went so far that he slew many of his friends on false charges, and he drove not a few into exile, among whom were Philistus and his own brother Leptines, men of outstanding courage who had rendered him many important services in his wars. These men, then, passed their banishment in Thurii in Italy where they were cordially welcomed by the Italian Greeks. Later, at the request of Dionysius, they were reconciled with him and returned to Syracuse where they enjoyed his former goodwill, and Leptines married Dionysius' daughter.

These, then, were the events of this year.

8. When Dexitheüs was archon in Athens, the 885 B.C. Romans elected as consuls Lucius Lucretius and Servius Sulpicius. This year Evagoras, the king of the Salaminians, arrived in Cyprus from Egypt, bringing money from Acoris, the king of Egypt, but less than he had expected. When he found that Salamis was closely besieged and that he was deserted by his allies, he was forced to discuss terms of settle-Tiribazus, who held the supreme command, agreed to a settlement upon the conditions that Evagoras should withdraw from all the cities of Cyprus, that as king of Salamis alone he should pay the Persian King a fixed annual tribute, and that he should obey orders as slave to master. Although these were hard terms, Evagoras agreed to them all except that he refused to obey orders as slave to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Schäfer: λύπης.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: αὐτός.

άντέλεγεν, ἔφη δὲ αύτὸν ώς βασιλέα βασιλεῖ δεῖν ύποτετάχθαι. οὐ συγχωροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Τιριβάζου. 'Ορόντης ὁ ἔτερος στρατηγός, φθονῶν τῆ δόξη τοῦ Τιριβάζου, γράμματα λάθρα πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αρταξέρξην 4 έπεμψε κατά τοῦ Τιριβάζου. κατηγόρει δ' αὐτοῦ πρώτον μεν ότι δυνάμενος έλειν την Σαλαμίνα τοῦτο μέν οὐ συντελεῖ, πρεσβείας δὲ προσδέχεται παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαλεῖ περὶ κοινοπραγίας. δμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συντίθεται συμμαχίαν ιδία, φίλος ὢν αὐτῶν ώς καὶ Πυθώδε τινάς ἔπεμψεν έρησομένους τὸν θεὸν περί τῆς έπαναστάσεως, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας των δυνάμεων ίδίους εθνοίαις κατασκευάζει, τιμαίς 5 καὶ δωρεαῖς, ἔτι δ' ἐπαγγελίαις προσαγόμενος. ό δὲ βασιλεύς ἀναγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ πιστεύσας ταις διαβολαίς, έγραψε τῷ 'Ορόντη συλλαβείν τὸν Τιρίβαζον καὶ πρὸς ξαυτὸν ἀποστεῖλαι. πράξαντος τὸ προσταχθέν, δ μὲν Τιρίβαζος ἀναχθεὶς ὡς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κρίσεως τυχεῖν ἀξιώσας κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν παρεδόθη εἰς φυλακήν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχοντος πόλεμον πρὸς Καδουσίους καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἀναβαλλομένου, διείλκετο τὰ περί τοῦ δικαστηρίου.

9. 'Ο δ' 'Ορόντης διαδεξάμενος την ήγεμονίαν των εν τη Κύπρω δυνάμεων, και τον Ευαγόραν πάλιν τεθαρρηκότως όρων υπομένοντα την πολιορκίαν, προς δε τούτοις των στρατιωτών χαλεπώς υπομενόντων την σύλληψιν του Τιριβάζου, και δια τουτο ἀπειθούντων και την πολιορκίαν εγκαταλειπόντων, δείσας 'Ορόντης το της περιστάσεως παράλογον, εξέπεμψε προς τον Ευαγόραν τους δια-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Dindorf: αὐτόν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Cobet : lδίαν.

master, saying that he should be subject as king to 385 B.C. When Tiribazus would not agree to this, Orontes, who was the other general and envious of Tiribazus' high position, secretly sent letters to Artaxerxes against Tiribazus. The charges against him were first, that although he was able to take Salamis, he was not doing so, but was receiving embassies from Evagoras and conferring with him on the question of making common cause; that he was likewise concluding a private alliance with the Lacedaemonians, being their friend; that he had sent to Pytho 1 to inquire of the god regarding his plans for revolt; and, most important of all, that he was winning for himself the commanders of the troops by acts of kindness, bringing them over by honours and gifts and promises. On reading the letter the King, believing the accusations, wrote to Orontes to arrest Tiribazus and dispatch him to him. When the order had been carried out, Tiribazus, on being brought to the King, asked for a trial and for the time being was put in prison. After this the King was engaged in a war with the Cadusians and postponed the trial, and so the legal action was deferred.

9. Orontes succeeded to the command of the forces in Cyprus. But when he saw that Evagoras was again putting up a bold resistance to the siege and, furthermore, that the soldiers were angered at the arrest of Tiribazus and so were insubordinate and listless in pressing the siege, Orontes became alarmed at the surprising change in the situation. He therefore sent men to Evagoras to discuss a settlement and to urge

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The oracle at Delphi.

λεξομένους περί της συλλύσεως καί κελεύσοντας συντίθεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' οἶς ἐκεῖνος ἠξίου 2 συντίθεσθαι πρὸς Τιρίβαζον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Εὐαγόρας παραδόξως έξωσιοῦτοι τὴν ἄλωσιν, καὶ συνέθετο την ειρήνην, ώστε βασιλεύειν της Σαλαμίνος καί τὸν ώρισμένον διδόναι φόρον κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ύπακούειν ώς βασιλεύς βασιλεί προστάττοντι. δ μέν οὖν Κυπριακός πόλεμος δεκαετής σχεδόν νεγενημένος καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου περὶ παρασκευάς ἀσχοληθείς, διετή χρόνον τον έπι πασι συνεχώς πολεμηθείς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατελύθη. 'Ο δε τοῦ στόλου τὴν ναυαρχίαν ἔχων Γλῶς, γεγαμηκώς τοῦ Τιριβάζου τὴν θυγατέρα, περίφοβος ὢν² μήποτε συνεργεῖν δόξας τῷ Τιριβάζω περί της ύποθέσεως τύχη τιμωρίας ύπο του βασιγέως, έγνω καινή πραγμάτων ἐπιβολή τὰ καθ' έαυτον ἀσφαλίζεσθαι. εὐπορῶν δὲ χρημάτων καὶ στρατιωτών, έτι δέ τους τριηράρχους ταις εύνοίαις ιδίους πεποιημένος, διέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀφίστα-4 σθαι. εὐθὺς οὖν πρὸς μὲν "Ακοριν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διαπρεσβευσάμενος συμμαχίαν συνέθετο κατά τοῦ βασιλέως, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους γράφων ἐπῆρε κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ χρημάτων πληθος ἐπηγγέλλετο δώσειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπαγγελίας μεγάλας ἐποιεῖτο, ὑπισχνούμενος συμπράξειν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν ήγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς τὴν πάτριον συγκατασκευάσειν. 5 οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται καὶ πάλαι μὲν διεγνώκεισαν άνακτασθαι την ήγεμονίαν, τότε δε συνετάραττον

<sup>1</sup> So Post, εξιάσατο Vogel: εξοσιοῦται.

him to agree to a peace on the same terms Evagoras 385 B.C. had agreed to with Tiribazus. Evagoras, then, was surprisingly able to dispel the menace of capture, and agreed to peace on the conditions that he should be king of Salamis, pay the fixed tribute annually, and obey as a king the orders of the King. So the Cyprian war, which had lasted for approximately ten years, although the larger part of the period was spent in preparations and there were in all but two years of continuous warfare, came to the end we have described.<sup>1</sup>

Glös, who had been in command of the fleet and was married to the daughter of Tiribazus, fearful that it might be thought that he had co-operated with Tiribazus in his plan and that he would be punished by the King, resolved to safeguard his position by a new project of action. Since he was well supplied with money and soldiers and had furthermore won the commanders of the triremes to himself by acts of kindness, he resolved to revolt from the King. At once, then, he sent ambassadors to Acoris, the king of the Egyptians, and concluded an alliance with him against the King. He also wrote the Lacedaemonians and incited them against the King, promising to give them a large sum of money and offering other great inducements. He pledged himself to full co-operation with them in Greece and to work with them in restoring the supremacy their fathers had exercised. Even before this the Spartans had made up their minds to recover their supremacy, and at the time were already throwing the cities into

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The war ended in 380 B.C.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> ων Schäfer: ην.
 <sup>3</sup> ἔτι δὲ Dindorf, ἐπὶ PAFK, ἐπεὶ cet.

ήδη τὰς πόλεις καὶ πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχον φανεροὶ τὰς πόλεις καταδουλούμενοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀδοξοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα συνθέσει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν Ἕλληνας ἐκδότους πεποιηκέναι μετεμέλοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις καὶ πρόφασιν εὔλογον ἐζήτουν τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ᾿Αρταξέρξην πολέμου. διόπερ ἄσμενοι συνέθεντο πρὸς

τὸν Γλῶ τὴν συμμαχίαν.

10. 'Αρταξέρξης δε καταλύσας τον προς Καδουσίους πόλεμον προέθηκε κρίσιν Τιριβάζω, καὶ δικαστάς τρεῖς ἀπέδωκε τῶν μάλιστα εὐδοκιμούντων παρά τοις Πέρσαις. κατά τούτους δέ τους χρόνους έτεροι δικασταί δόξαντες κακώς κρίνειν ζωντες έξεδάρησαν, καὶ ύπερ των δικαστικών δίφρων περιταθέντων² τῶν δερμάτων ἐπὶ τούτων ἐδίκαζον οἱ δικασταί, παρ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες παράδειγμα της έν τῷ κακῶς κρίνειν τιμωρίας. 2 οί μεν οθν κατηγοροθντες την επιστολήν άναγνόντες την πεμφθείσαν ύπο του 'Ορόντου, ταύτην ίκανως εφασαν έχειν πρός κατηγορίαν ό δε Τιρίβαζος πρός μεν την κατά τον Εθαγόραν διαβολὴν⁴ τὴν ὑπ' 'Ορόντου γεγενημένην συνθήκην τὸν Εὐαγόραν ὑπακούσειν ὡς βασιλέα βασιλεῖ προήνεγκεν έαυτον δε την ειρήνην συντεθεισθαι, ώστε ύπακούειν Εὐαγόραν τῷ βασιλεῖ ώς δοῦλον δεσπότη. περί δὲ τῶν χρησμῶν ἔφησε μὴ χρηματίζειν τὸν θεὸν καθόλου περί θανάτου, καὶ τούτου μάρτυρας παρείχετο πάντας τους παρόντας "Ελληνας. περί δέ της φιλίας της πρός Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπελογείτο.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Vogel: εὐδοκουμένην. <sup>2</sup> So Reiske: περιπεθέντων. <sup>3</sup> So Hertlein: ἰκανήν. <sup>4</sup> ἀνεγίνωσκε after διαβολήν deleted by Dindorf.

confusion and enslaving them, as was clear to all men. 385 B.C. Moreover, they were in bad repute because it was generally believed that in the agreement 1 they had made with the King they had betrayed the Greeks of Asia, and so they repented of what they had done and sought a plausible excuse for a war against Artaxerxes. Consequently they were glad to enter the alliance with Glös.

10. After Artaxerxes had concluded the war with the Cadusians, he brought up the trial of Tiribazus and assigned three of the most highly esteemed Persians as judges. At this time other judges who were believed to have been corrupt were flaved alive and their skins stretched tight on judicial benches. The judges rendered their decisions seated on these, having before their eyes an example of the punishment meted out to corrupt decisions. Now the accusers read the letter sent by Orontes and stated that it constituted sufficient cause for accusation. Tiribazus, with respect to the charge in connection with Evagoras, presented the agreement made by Orontes that Evagoras should obey the King as a king, whereas he had himself agreed upon a peace on the terms that Evagoras should obey the King as a slave his master. With respect to the oracle he stated that the god as a general thing gives no response regarding death,2 and to the truth of this he invoked all the Greeks present as witnesses. As for the friendship with the Lacedaemonians, he replied

<sup>1</sup> The Peace of Antalcidas (Book 14. 110. 3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Therefore he could not have inquired of the oracle about a revolt, which, if successful, would necessarily have involved the death of the King.

<sup>5</sup> συνθήκην τὸν Εὐαγόραν added by Rhodoman.

λέγων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ ιδίω συμφέροντι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως λυσιτελεῖ πεποιῆσθαι τὴν φιλίαν· καὶ διὰ ταύτης παρεδείκνυε τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων παρηρῆσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν Ἔλληνας, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ παραδεδόσθαι ἐκδότους. ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὑπέμνησε τοὺς δικαστὰς

ων τον βασιλέα πρότερον ήν εὐεργετηκώς.

3 Λέγεται δὲ πολλὰς μὲν καὶ ἄλλας χρείας ἐνδεδεῖχθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, μίαν δὲ μεγίστην, ἐξ ἣς αὐτὸν 
θαυμασθῆναι συνέβη καὶ μέγιστον γενέσθαι φίλον· 
κατὰ γάρ τινα κυνηγίαν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀχουμένου 
τοῦ βασιλέως δύο λέοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁρμῆσαι, καὶ 
τῶν μὲν ἵππων τῶν ἐν τῷ τεθρίππῳ δύο διασπάσαι, 
τὴν δ' ὁρμὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα· καθ' 
δν δὴ καιρὸν ἐπιφανέντα τὸν Τιρίβαζον τοὺς μὲν 
λέοντας ἀποκτεῖναι, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα ἐκ τῶν κιν4 δύνων ἐξελέσθαι. ἔν τε τοῖς πολέμοις¹ ἀνδρεία 
διενεγκεῖν φασὶν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ τὰς² συμβουλὰς 
οὕτως εὐστοχεῖν, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα χρώμενον ταῖς 
ἐκείνου παραγγελίαις μηδέποτε διαμαρτεῖν. τοιαύτῃ δ' ἀπολογία χρησάμενος ὁ Τιρίβαζος ἀπελύθη 
τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὡμολογημένως ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν 
δικαστῶν.

11. 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς καθ' ἔνα τῶν δικαστῶν προσκαλούμενος ἐπηρώτησε, τίσι δικαίοις προσσχὼν
ἔκαστος ἀπέλυσε τὸν κατηγορούμενον. ὁ μὲν οὖν
πρῶτος ἔφησε, θεωρῶν τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα ἀμφισβητούμενα, τὰς δ' εὐεργεσίας ὁμολογουμένας οὔσας·
ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔφησε, καὶ τιθεμένων ἀληθινῶν τῶν
ἐγκλημάτων, ὅμως τὰς εὐεργεσίας μείζους εἶναι
τῆς ἁμαρτίας· ὁ δὲ τρίτος εἶπεν ὅτι τὰς μὲν εὐερ-

in defence that he had formed the friendship not 385 B.C. for any advantage of his own but for the profit of the King; and he pointed out that the Greeks of Asia were thereby detached from the Lacedaemonians and delivered captive to the King. At the conclusion of his defence he reminded the judges of the former

good services he had rendered the King.

It is related that Tiribazus pointed out many services to the King, and one very great one, as a result of which he was highly regarded and became a very great friend. Once during a hunt, while the King was riding in a chariot, two lions came at him, tore to pieces two of the four horses belonging to the chariot, and then charged upon the King himself; but at that very moment Tiribazus appeared, slew the lions, and rescued the King from the danger. In wars also, men say, he excelled in valour, and in council his judgement was so good that when the King followed his advice he never made a mistake. By means of such a defence Tiribazus was cleared of the charges by the unanimous vote of the judges.

11. The King summoned the judges one by one and asked each of them what principles of justice he had followed in clearing the accused. The first said that he observed the charges to be debatable, while the benefactions were not contested. The second said that, though it were granted that the charges were true, nevertheless the benefactions exceeded the offences. The third stated that he did not take

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Herodotus (8. 85) states that certain Persians who had especially distinguished themselves were recorded among "the king's benefactors," being called in Persian *orosangae*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> τàs added by Dindorf.

γεσίας οὐ τίθεται πρὸς λόγον διὰ τὸ τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν χάριτας καὶ τιμὰς πολλαπλασίας ἀπειληφέναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Τιρίβαζον, αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων κατ' ἰδίαν θεωρουμένων μὴ φαίνεσθαι τούτοις ἔνοχον εἶναι τὸν κατηγορούμενον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοὺς μὲν δικαστὰς ἐπήνεσεν, ὡς δικαίως κεκρικότας, τὸν δὲ Τιρίβαζον ταῖς νομιζομέναις μεγίσταις τιμαῖς ἐκόσμησεν. τοῦ δὲ 'Ορόντου καταγνοὺς ὡς ψευδῆ κατηγορίαν πεπλακότος ἔκ τε τῶν φίλων ἐξέκρινε καὶ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀτιμίαις περιέβαλεν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἐν τούτοις ῆν.

12. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Λακεδαιμονίων πορθούντων Μαντίνειαν, τὸ μὲν θέρος διετέλεσαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐδόκουν γὰρ ἀνδρεία διαφέρειν τῶν 'Αρκάδων, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον εἰώθεισαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τούτους παραστάτας έχειν καὶ πιστοτάτους τῶν συμμάχων τοῦ δὲ χειμώνος ενστάντος καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποταμοῦ μεγάλην αὔξησιν ἐκ τῶν ὄμβρων λαβόντος, οί Λακεδαιμόνιοι το ρεθμα τοθ ποταμοθ διαλαβόντες μεγάλοις χώμασιν ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν ποταμὸν είς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντα τὸν σύνεγγυς τόπον ἐποί-2 ησαν λιμνάζειν. διό καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν πιπτουσῶν καταπλαγέντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἡναγκάσθησαν τὴν πόλιν παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. οἱ δὲ παραλαβόντες άλλο μεν οὐθεν κακον εἰργάσαντο τούς Μαντινείς, προσέταξαν δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀρχαίας κώμας μετοικισθηναι. διόπερ ηναγκάσθησαν την μεν ίδίαν πατρίδα κατασκάπτειν, είς δὲ τὰς κώμας μετοικήσαι.

into account the benefactions, because Tiribazus had 855 B.C. received from the King in return for them favours and honours many times as great, but that when the charges were examined apart by themselves, the accused did not appear to be guilty of them. The King praised the judges for having rendered a just decision and bestowed upon Tiribazus the highest honours, such as were customary. Orontes, however, he condemned as one who had fabricated a false accusation, expelled him from his list of friends, and subjected him to the utmost marks of degradation.

Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

12. In Greece the Lacedaemonians continued the siege of Mantineia, and through the summer the Mantineians maintained a gallant resistance against the enemy. For they were considered to surpass the other Arcadians in valour, and it was for this reason that the Lacedaemonians had formerly made it their practice in battle to place them, as their most trustworthy allies, on their flank. But with the coming of winter the river which flows beside Mantineia received a great increase from the rains and the Lacedaemonians diverted the flow of the river with great dikes, turned the river into the city, and made a pool of all the region round about. Consequently, as the houses began to fall, the Mantineians in despair were compelled to surrender the city to the Lacedaemonians. After they received the surrender, they imposed no other hardship on the Mantineians than the command that they should move back to their former villages. Consequently they were compelled to raze their own city and return to their villages.

13. "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ο τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος έγνω κατά τὸν 'Αδρίαν πόλεις οἰκίζειν. τοῦτο δὲ έπραττε διανοούμενος τον Ιόνιον καλούμενον πόρον ίδιοποιείσθαι, ίνα τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν "Ηπειρον πλοῦν . ἀσφαλῆ κατασκευάση καὶ πόλεις ἔχη ἰδίας εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ναυσί καθορμισθήναι. ἔσπευδε γὰρ ἄφνω μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν ἐπιπλεῦσαι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν "Ηπειρον τόποις καὶ συλησαι" τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς τέ-2 μενος, γέμον πολλών χρημάτων. διὸ καὶ πρὸς 'Ιλλυριούς ἐποιήσατο συμμαχίαν δι' 'Αλκέτου τοῦ Μολοττοῦ, ὁς ἐτύγχανε φυγὰς ὢν καὶ διατρίβων ἐν ταις Συρακούσαις. των δ' Ἰλλυριων έχόντων πόλεμον, έξαπέστειλεν αὐτοῖς συμμάχους στρατιώτας δισχιλίους καὶ πανοπλίας Έλληνικὰς πεντακοσίας. οί δ' 'Ιλλυριοί τὰς μὲν πανοπλίας ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς άρίστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας 3 κατέμιξαν τοῖς ίδίοις στρατιώταις. πολλήν δὲ δύναμιν άθροίσαντες ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν "Ηπειρον καὶ κατῆγον² τὸν ᾿Αλκέταν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Μολοττῶν βασιλείαν. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτοῖς προσέχοντος, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπόρθησαν τὴν χώραν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Μολοττῶν ἀντιταττομένων ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἢν νικήσαντες οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ κατέκοψαν τῶν Μολοττῶν πλείους τῶν μυρίων πεντακισχιλίων. τοιαύτη δὲ συμφορᾶ τῶν Ἡπειρωτῶν περιπεσόντων, Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι τὰ συμβεβηκότα συμμαχίαν εξέπεμψαν τοις Μολοττοις, δι' ής του πολλοῦ θράσους ἔπαυσαν τοὺς βαρβάρους.

13. While these events were taking place, in Sicily 385 B.C. Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, resolved to plant cities on the Adriatic Sea. His idea in doing this was to get control of the Ionian Sea, in order that he might make the route to Epeirus safe and have there his own cities which could give haven to ships. For it was his intent to descend unexpectedly with great armaments upon the regions about Epeirus and to sack the temple at Delphi, which was filled with great wealth. Consequently he made an alliance with the Illyrians with the help of Alcetas the Molossian, who was at the time an exile and spending his days in Syracuse. Since the Illyrians were at war, he dispatched to them an allied force of two thousand soldiers and five hundred suits of Greek armour. The Illyrians distributed the suits of armour among their choicest warriors and incorporated the soldiers among their own troops. Now that they had gathered a large army, they invaded Epeirus and would have restored Alcetas to the kingship over the Molossians. But when no one paid any attention to them, they first ravaged the country, and after that, when the Molossians drew up against them, there followed a sharp battle in which the Illyrians were victorious and slew more than fifteen thousand Molossians. After such a disaster befell the inhabitants of Epeirus, the Lacedaemonians, as soon as they had learned the facts, sent a force to give aid to the Molossians. by means of which they curbed the barbarians' great audacity.

The Greek reads "the Lower as it is called," since, being the lower as the direct route between Greece and Italy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> So Stephanus: συλήσειν. <sup>2</sup> So Dindorf: κατήγαγον.

4 "Αμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πάριοι κατά τινα χρησμὸν ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμμαντες εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν ἔκτισαν ἐν αὐτῷ νῆσον τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Φάρον, συμπράξαντος αὐτοῖς Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου. οὖτος γὰρ ἀποικίαν ἀπεσταλκὼς εἰς τὸν 'Αδρίαν οὐ πολλοῖς πρότερον ἔτεσιν ἐκτικὼς ἦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν 5 ὀνομαζομένην Λίσσον. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν δρμώμενος Διονύσιος . . . σχολὴν ἄγων κατεσκεύασε νεώρια διακοσίαις τριήρεσι, καὶ τεῖχος περιέβαλε τῷ πόλει τηλικοῦτο τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε τῷ πόλει γενέσθαι τὸν περίβολον μέγιστον τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια μεγάλα παρὰ τὸν "Αναπον ποταμόν, θεῶν τε ναοὺς κατεσκεύασε καὶ τἄλλα τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς αὕξησιν πόλεως καὶ δόξαν.

14. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος 'Αθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Διοτρέφης, ἐν 'Ρώμη δ' ὕπατοι κατεστάθησαν Λεύκιος Οὐαλέριος καὶ Αὖλος Μάλλιος, παρὰ δ' 'Ηλείοις 'Ολυμπιὰς ἤχθη ἐνενηκοστὴ ἐνάτη, καθ' ἢν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δίκων Συρακόσιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πάριοι μὲν τὴν Φάρον οἰκίσαντες τούς τε¹ προενοικοῦντας βαρβάρους ἔν τινι χωρίφ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὀχυρῷ ὄντι εἴασαν κατοικεῖν ἀσινεῖς, αὐτοὶ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν κτίσαντες πόλιν 2 ἐτείχισαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν προοικούντων ἐν τῆ νήσῳ βαρβάρων δυσχεραινόντων ἐπὶ τῆ παρουσία τῶν 'Ελλήνων, καὶ μεταπεμπομένων τοὺς πέραν κατοικοῦντας 'Ιλλυριούς, μικροῖς πλοίοις πολλοῖς διέβησαν εἰς τὴν Φάρον, ὅντες ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τοὺς 'Ελληνας πορθοῦντες πολλοὺς ἀνήρουν. δ δ' ἐν τῆ Λίσσφ καθεσταμένος ἔπαρχος ὑπὸ Διο-

1 τε deleted by Vogel; Schäfer and Dindorf read μέν.

While these events were taking place, the Parians, 385 a.c. in accordance with an oracle, sent out a colony to the Adriatic, founding it on the island of Pharos, as it is called, with the co-operation of the tyrant Dionysius. He had already dispatched a colony to the Adriatic not many years previously and had founded the city known as Lissus. From this as his base Dionysius . . .¹ Since he had the leisure, he built dockyards with a capacity for two hundred triremes and threw about the city a wall of such size that its circuit was the greatest possessed by any Greek city. He also constructed large gymnasia along the Anapus River,² and likewise temples of the gods and whatever else would contribute to the growth and renown of the city.

14. At the conclusion of the year, in Athens 884 B.C. Diotrephes was archon and in Rome the consuls elected were Lucius Valerius and Aulus Mallius, and the Eleians celebrated the Ninety-ninth Olympiad, that in which Dicon of Syracuse won the "stadion." This year the Parians, who had settled Pharos, allowed the previous barbarian inhabitants to remain unharmed in an exceedingly well fortified place, while they themselves founded a city by the sea and built a wall about it. Later, however, the old barbarian inhabitants of the island took offence at the presence of the Greeks and called in the Illyrians of the opposite mainland. These, to the number of more than ten thousand, crossed over to Pharos in many small boats, wrought havoc, and slew many of the Greeks. But the governor of Lissus appointed

<sup>2</sup> This flowed into the Great Harbour of Syracuse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> There is a lacuna here that must be of some length, since the following statements apply, not to Lissus, but to Syracuse.

νυσίου τριήρεις πλείους ἔχων ἐπέπλευσε τοῖς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν πλοιαρίοις, καὶ τὰ μὲν βυθίσας, τὰ δὲ χειρωσάμενος, ἀπέκτεινε τῶν βαρβάρων πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων, ἐζώγρησε δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους.

- 3 Διονύσιος δε χρημάτων απορούμενος εστράτευσεν επὶ Τυρρηνίαν, έχων τριήρεις εξήκοντα, πρόφασιν μεν φέρων τὴν τῶν ληστῶν κατάλυσιν, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία συλήσων ἱερὸν ἄγιον, γέμον μεν ἀναθημάτων πολλῶν, καθιδρυμένον δ' ἐν ἐπινείω πόλεως 'Αγύλλης Τυρρηνίδος τὸ δ' ἐπίνειον ἀνομάζετο Πύργοι. 4 καταπλεύσας δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκβιβάσας, ἄμ' ἡμέρα προσπεσὼν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.
  - αμ' ήμέρα προσπεσών ἐκράτησε τῆς ἐπιβολῆς δλίγων γὰρ ὅντων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ φυλάκων βιασάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ συνήθροισεν οὐκ ἔλαττον ταλάντων χιλίων. τῶν δὲ ᾿Αγυλλαίων ἐκβοηθησάντων, μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λαβὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν πορθήσας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας. ἀποδόμενος δὲ τὰ λάφυρα συνήγαγεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. εὐπορήσας δὲ χρημάτων ἐμισθοῦτο στρατιωτῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος, καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστησάμενος φανερὸς ἦν πολεμήσων Καρχηδονίοις.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνι-

15. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' ᾿Αθήνησι Φανοστράτου Ὑρωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους τέτταρας, Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον, Σέντιον Σολπίκιον, Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον, Λεύκιον Φούριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος παρα-360

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by Dionysius sailed with a good number of triremes 384 B.C. against the light craft of the Illyrians, sinking some and capturing others, and slew more than five thousand of the barbarians, while taking some two thousand captive.

Dionysius, in need of money, set out to make war against Tyrrhenia with sixty triremes. The excuse he offered was the suppression of the pirates, but in fact he was going to pillage a holy temple, richly provided with dedications, which was located in the seaport of the Tyrrhenian city of Agyllê, the name of the port being Pyrgi.1 Putting in by night, he disembarked his men, attacked at daybreak, and achieved his design; for he overpowered the small number of guards in the place, plundered the temple, and amassed no less than a thousand talents. When the men of Agyllê came out to bring help, he overpowered them in battle, took many prisoners, laid waste their territory, and then returned to Syracuse. From the booty which he sold he took in no less than five hundred talents. Now that Dionysius was well supplied with money, he hired a multitude of soldiers from every land, and after bringing together a very considerable army, was obviously preparing for a war against the Carthaginians.

These, then, were the events of this year.

15. When Phanostratus was archon in Athens, the 383 B.C. Romans elected instead of consuls four military tribunes, Lucius Lucretius, Sentius Sulpicius, Lucius Aemilius, and Lucius Furius. This year Dionysius, the tyrant of the Syracusans, after preparations for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Some fifteen miles up the coast from Ostia. The temple was that of Eileithyia, the goddess of child-birth (Strabo, 5. 2. 8).

σκευασάμενος πολεμεῖν Καρχηδονίοις, ἐζήτει λαβεῖν πρόφασιν εὔλογον τοῦ πολέμου. ὁρῶν οὖν τὰς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους τεταγμένας πόλεις οἰκείως ἐχούσας πρὸς ἀπόστασιν, προσεδέχετο τὰς βουλομένας ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὰς συντιθέμενος ἐπιεικῶς προσεφέρετο ταύταις. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλοντες πρὸς τὸν δυνάστην ἀπήτουν τὰς πόλεις, μὴ προσέχοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ συνέβη ταύτην ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου.

Καρχηδόνιοι μέν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰταλιώτας συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι κοινή τον πόλεμον επανείλαντο πρός τον τύραννον προορώμενοι δ' εμφρόνως το μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, τῶν τε πολιτῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους κατέλεγον στρατιώτας καὶ χρημάτων προχειρισάμενοι πλήθος ξενικάς δυνάμεις μεγάλας εμισθοῦντο. καταστήσαντες δε στρατηγόν Μάγωνα τον βασιλέα, πολλάς μυριάδας στρατιωτών επεραίωσαν είς την Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, διαπολεμεῖν ἐξ³ ἀμφο-3 τέρας βουλόμενοι. ό δὲ Διονύσιος καὶ αὐτὸς τὰς δυνάμεις διελόμενος, τῷ μὲν ένὶ μέρει πρὸς τοὺς 'Ιταλιώτας διηγωνίζετο, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρω πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας. πολλαὶ μέν οὖν κατὰ μέρος ἐγίνοντο μάχαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ συμπλοκαὶ μικραὶ καί συνεχείς, έν αίς οὐδεν άξιόλογον έργον συνετελέσθη, δύο δὲ παρατάξεις ἐγένοντο μεγάλαι καὶ περιβόητοι. καὶ τῆ μὲν πρώτη Διονύσιος θαυμαστῶς ἀγωνισάμενος περὶ τὰ καλούμενα Κάβαλα προετέρησε, καὶ πλείους μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἀνεῖλε

<sup>1</sup> οὖν added by Dindorf.
2 Ἰταλιώτας Wesseling, Dindorf: παρόντας.

war upon the Carthaginians, looked about to find a 383 B.C. reasonable excuse for the conflict. Seeing, then, that the cities subject to the Carthaginians were favourable to a revolt, he received such as wished to do so, formed an alliance with them, and treated them with fairness. The Carthaginians at first dispatched ambassadors to the ruler and asked for the return of their cities, and when he paid no attention to them, this

came to be the beginning of the war.

Now the Carthaginians formed an alliance with the Italian Greeks and together with them went to war against the tyrant; and since they wisely recognized in advance that it would be a great war, they enrolled as soldiers the capable youth from their own citizens, and then, raising a great sum of money, hired large forces of mercenary troops. As general they chose their king 1 Magon and moved many tens of thousands of soldiers across to Sicily and Italy, planning to wage war on both fronts. Dionysius for his part also divided his forces, on the one front fighting the Italian Greeks and on the other the Phoenicians. Now there were many battles here and there between groups of soldiers and minor and continuous engagements, in which nothing of consequence was achieved. But there were two important and famous pitched In the first, near Cabala,2 as it is called, Dionysius, who put up an admirable fight, was victorious, slaving more than ten thousand of the bar-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Magon was obviously one of the two annually elected suffetes, who corresponded roughly to the Roman consuls. Diodorus must have known that the Carthaginians had no "kings"; but probably avoided for his readers the use of the unfamiliar term.

<sup>2</sup> The location is unknown.

³ ¿£ added by Wesseling.

τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων ἔζώγρησε· τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος ἡνάγκασε καταφυγεῖν ἐπί τινα λόφον ἐρυμνὸν καὶ ἄνυδρον παντελῶς. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Μάγων ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ⁴ ἀγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες καταπλαγέντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς εὐθὺς διεπρεσβεύσαντο περὶ διαλύσεων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ἀπεφήνατο μίαν αὐτοῖς εἶναι σύλλυσιν, ἐὰν ἐκχωρήσωσι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πόλεων καὶ τὰ δαπανηθέντα

χρήματα κατά τον πόλεμον εκτίσωσιν.

16. Βαρείας δὲ καὶ ὑπερηφάνου τῆς ἀποκρίσεως δοκούσης ύπάρχειν, οι Καρχηδόνιοι τῆ συνήθει πανουργία κατεστρατήγησαν τον Διονύσιον. προσποιηθέντες οθν εθδοκείσθαι ταις όμολογίαις, έφησαν αὐτοὺς μὲν μὴ ὑπάρχειν κυρίους τῆς τῶν πόλεων παραδόσεως, ίνα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι διαλεχθῶσι περί τούτων, ήξίωσαν τον Διονύσιον όλίγας ήμέρας 2 ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ δυνάστου καὶ τῶν ἀνοχῶν γενομένων, ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος περιχαρής ήν, ως αὐτίκα μάλα την Σικελίαν πᾶσαν παραληψόμενος, οί δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι Μάγωνα μὲν τὸν βασιλέα μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθαψαν, ἀντὶ δ' ἐκείνου στρατηγόν κατέστησαν τον υίον αὐτοῦ, νέον μέν παντελως όντα, φρονήματος δε γέμοντα καὶ διάφορον ανδρεία. οὖτος δὲ πάντα τὸν τῶν ἀνοχῶν χρόνον διετέλεσε διατάσσων καὶ γυμνάζων τὴν δύναμιν, διὰ δὲ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ἀθλήσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων παρακλήσεως καὶ γυμνασίας ἐν τοῖς οπλοις εὐπειθη καὶ δυνατην ἐποίησε την στρατιάν. 3 ώς δ' δ τῆς όμολογίας δίηλθε χρόνος, ἀμφότεροι τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκτάξαντες συγκατέβησαν προθύμως έπὶ τὴν μάχην. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἰσχυρᾶς 364

barians and capturing not less than five thousand. 388 B.C. He also forced the rest of the army to take refuge on a hill which was fortified but altogether without water. There fell also Magon their king after a splendid combat. The Phoenicians, dismayed at the magnitude of the disaster, at once sent an embassy to discuss terms of peace. But Dionysius declared that his only terms were conditional upon their retiring from the cities of Sicily and paying the cost of the war.

16. This reply was considered by the Carthaginians to be harsh and arrogant and they outgeneralled Dionysius with their accustomed knavery. They pretended that they were satisfied with the terms, but stated that it was not in their power to hand over the cities; and in order that they might discuss the question with their government, they asked Dionysius to agree to a truce of a few days. When the monarch agreed and the truce took effect, Dionysius was overjoyed, supposing that he would forthwith take over the whole of Sicily. The Carthaginians meanwhile gave their king Magon a magnificent funeral and replaced him as general with his son, who, though he was young indeed, was full of ambition and distinguished for his courage. He spent the entire period of the truce drilling and exercising his troops, and what with laborious exercise, hortatory speeches, and training in arms, he rendered the army obedient and competent. At the expiration of the period agreed upon both sides deployed their forces and entered the battle with high spirit. There followed

So the MSS.; εὐδοκεῖν οτ εὐδοκῆσαι Vogel.
δὲ γέμοντα Vogel: δ' εὐγενοῦς ὄντα.

περί τὸ καλούμενον Κρόνιον, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναλλάξ τῆ νίκη τὴν ἦτταν τῶν Καρχηδονίων διωρθώσατο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ προνενικηκότες διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην εὖημερίαν μεγαλαυχοῦντες παραδόξως ἐσφάλησαν, οί δὲ διὰ τὴν ἦτταν πεπτωκότες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν άπροσδόκητον καὶ μεγάλην εὐημερίαν ἀπηνέγκαντο.

17. Λεπτίνης μεν γὰρ ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρως τεταγ-μένος καὶ διαφέρων ἀνδρεία, μαχόμενος ἡρωικῶς καὶ πολλούς ἀνελών τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπιφανῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον τούτου δὲ πεσόντος οἱ Φοίνικες θαρρήσαντες καὶ βιασάμενοι τους άντιτεταγ-2 μένους ετρέψαντο. Διονύσιος δε το μεν πρῶτον έχων επιλέκτους τούς συντεταγμένους προετέρει τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ώς δ' ὁ τοῦ Λεπτίνου θάνατος έγνώσθη καὶ τὸ έτερον κέρας συνετέτριπτο, κατεπλάγησαν οί τοῦ Διονυσίου καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμη-3 σαν. τροπής δε παντελους γενομένης, οι μεν Καρχηδόνιοι φιλοτιμότερον καταδιώξαντες παρήγγελλον άλλήλοις μηδένα ζωγρείν διο και πάντων των περικαταλαμβανομένων άναιρουμένων πας δ 4 πλησίον τόπος νεκρών ἐπληρώθη. τοσοῦτος δ' έγένετο φόνος, μνησικακούντων τῶν Φοινίκων, ώστε τοὺς ἀναιρεθέντας εύρεθηναι² τῶν Σικελιωτῶν πλείους τῶν μυρίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης διεσώθησαν. οἱ δὲ Καρ-

είς Πάνορμον. 'Ανθρωπίνως δε την εὐημερίαν ένεγκόντες άπέστειλαν πρεσβευτάς, δόντες έξουσίαν τῷ Διονυσίω

χηδόνιοι μεγάλη παρατάξει νικήσαντες άνεχώρησαν

So Reiske, συνετέτρεπτο P, συνετέτραπτο cet.
 ἀναιρεθέντας εύρεθήναι Wesseling: εύρεθέντας ἀναιρεθήναι.

a sharp pitched battle at Cronium, as it is called, and 383 B.C. the deity redressed by victory turn for turn the defeat of the Carthaginians. The former victors, who were loudly boasting because of their military success, were unexpectedly tripped up, and they who, because of their defeat, were crestfallen at the outlook, won an unexpected and important victory.

17. Leptines, who was stationed on one wing and excelled in courage, ended his life in a blaze of glory, fighting heroically and after slaying many Carthaginians. At his fall the Phoenicians were emboldened and pressed so hard upon their opponents that they put them to flight. Dionysius, whose troops were a select band, at first had the advantage over his opponents; but when the death of Leptines became known and the other wing was crushed, his men were dismayed and took to flight. When the rout became general, the Carthaginians pursued the more eagerly and called out to one another to take no one captive; and so all who were caught were put to death and the whole region close at hand was heaped with dead. So great was the slaughter, as the Phoenicians recalled past injuries, that the slain among the Sicilian Greeks were found to number more than fourteen thousand. The survivors, who found safety in the camp, were preserved by the coming of night. After their great victory in a pitched battle the Carthaginians retired to Panormus.1

The Carthaginians, bearing their victory as men should, dispatched ambassadors to Dionysius and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Modern Palermo.

καταλύσασθαι τον πόλεμον. ἀσμένως δὲ τοῦ τυράννου προσδεξαμένου τοὺς λόγους ἐγένοντο διαλύσεις, ὤστ' ἔχειν ἀμφοτέρους ὧν πρότερον ὑπῆρχον κύριοι ἐξαίρετον δ' ἔλαβον οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὴν τῶν Σελινουντίων πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ τῆς ᾿Ακραγαντίνης μέχρι τοῦ ʿΑλύκου καλουμένου ποταμοῦ. ἔτισε δὲ Διονύσιος τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις τάλαντα χίλια.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἢν.

18. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν 'Ασίαν Γλῶς ὁ ναυαρχήσας τῶν Περσών εν τῷ Κυπριακῷ πολέμω, ἀποστάτης ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὸν Αἰνυπτίων βασιλέα παρακεκληκώς εἰς τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον, δολοφονηθείς ύπό τινων οὐ συνετέλεσε την προαίρεσιν. μετά δὲ την τούτου τελευτήν Ταχώς διαδεξάμενος τὰς τούτου πράξεις συνεστήσατο περί αύτον δύναμιν, καὶ πόλιν έκτισε πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπί τινος κρημνοῦ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Λεύκην, ἔχουσαν ίερὸν ἄχιον ᾿Απόλλωνος. 2 μετ' ολίγον δε χρόνον αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ημφισβήτησαν της πόλεως ταύτης Κλαζομένιοι καὶ Κυμαῖοι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησαν αί πόλεις πολέμω διακρίνεσθαι, μετά δὲ ταῦτα εἰπόντος τινός έρωτησαι τον θεόν, ποτέραν των πόλεων κρίνει κυρίαν είναι δείν της Λεύκης, έκρινεν ή Πυθία ταύτην υπάρχειν, ήτις αν πρώτη θύση εν τή Λεύκη· δρμηθηναί δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας πόλεως ἄμ' ήλίω ανιόντι κατά την ήμέραν, ην αμφότεροι συμ-3 φώνως ὑποστήσονται. ταχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας, οί μεν Κυμαιοι υπελάμβανον έαυτους πλεονεκτειν διὰ τὸ τὴν αύτῶν πόλιν ἐγγυτέρω κεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> πλεονεκτείν Vogel, πολεμείν PA, προλέγειν cet.

gave him the opportunity to end the war. The tyrant <sup>383</sup> B.C. gladly accepted the proposals, and peace was declared on the terms that both parties should hold what they previously possessed, the only exception being that the Carthaginians received both the city of the Selinuntians and its territory and that of Acragas as far as the river called Halycus. And Dionysius paid the Carthaginians one thousand talents.

This was the state of affairs in Sicily.

18. In Asia Glös, the Persian admiral in the Cyprian War, who had deserted from the King and had called upon both the Lacedaemonians and the king of the Egyptians to make war upon the Persians, was assassinated by certain persons and so did not achieve his purpose. After his death Tachos took over his operations. He gathered a force about him and founded on a crag near the sea a city which bears the name of Leucê and contains a sacred shrine of Apollo. A short time after his death a dispute over this city arose between the inhabitants of Clazomenae and those of Cymae. Now at first the cities undertook to settle the matter by recourse to war, but later someone suggested that the god be asked which one of the two cities should be master of Leucê. The Pythia decided that it should be the one which should first offer sacrifice in Leuce, and that each side should start from his own city at the rising of the sun on a day upon which both should agree. When the day was set, the Cymaeans assumed that they would have the advantage because their city lay the nearer, but the Clazomenians, though

Κλαζομένιοι, διάστημα πλέον ἀπέχοντες, τεχνάζονταί τι τοιοῦτο πρὸς τὴν νίκην· κληρώσαντες ἐξ ἐαυτῶν ἀποίκους ἔκτισαν πλησίον τῆς Λεύκης πόλιν, ἐξ ῆς ὁρμηθέντες ἄμ' ἡλίω ἀνατέλλοντι ἔφθασαν τοὺς Κυμαίους τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαντες. 4 τούτω δὲ τῷ φιλοτεχνήματι γενόμενοι κύριοι τῆς

Τουτώ οε τώ φιλοτεχνηματι γενομένοι κυριοι τής
 Λεύκης, ἐπώνυμον ἐορτὴν ἄγειν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνεστήσαντο,¹ τὴν πανήγυριν ὀνομάσαντες προφθάσειαν.
 τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων αἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ᾿Ασίαν ἐπαναστάσεις αὐτομάτως κατελύθησαν.

19. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Γλώ καὶ τοῦ Ταχῶ θάνατον τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν πράξεις ἀπέγνωσαν, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συσκευαζόμενοι, καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἃς μὲν πειθοῖ προσαγόμενοι, ἃς δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν φυγάδων καθόδου βία χειρούμενοι, φανερώς ήδη την ήγεμονίαν της Ελλάδος είς έαυτούς μεθίστασαν παρά τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας τάς ἐπ' 'Ανταλκίδου γενομένας συνεπιλαβομένου 2 τοῦ Περσών βασιλέως. κατά δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν 'Αμύντου τοῦ βασιλέως ήττηθέντος ὑπὸ 'Ιλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπογνόντος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῷ δήμῳ τῶν 'Ολυνθίων δωρησαμένου πολλὴν τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας διὰ τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δυναστείας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν 'Ολυνθίων τὰς προσόδους ἐλάμβανε τὰς ἐκ τῆς δοθείσης χώρας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνελπίστως τοῦ βασιλέως αναλαβόντος εαυτὸν καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησαμένου οἱ μὲν ᾿Ολύνθιοι τὴν χώραν ἀπαιτηθέντες 3 οὐχ οἷοι ἦσαν ἀποδιδόναι. διόπερ ᾿Αμύντας ἰδίαν τε δύναμιν συνεστήσατο καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ποιησάμενος συμμάχους έπεισεν έξαποστείλαι στραthey were a greater distance away, devised the <sup>388</sup> H.C. following scheme to get the victory. Choosing by lot colonists from their own citizens, they founded near Leucê a city from which they made their start at the rising of the sun and thus forestalled the Cymaeans in performing the sacrifice. Having become masters of Leucê by this scheme, they decided to hold an annual festival to bear its name which they called the Prophthaseia. After these events the rebellions in Asia came of themselves to an end.

19. After the death of Glös and Tachos the Lacedaemonians renounced their undertakings in Asia, but they went on organizing affairs in Greece for their own interest, winning over some of the cities by persuasion and getting others into their hands by force through the return of the exiles. From this point they began openly to bring into their own hands the supremacy of Greece, contrary to the common agreements adopted in the time of Antalcidas after intervention by the King of the Persians. In Macedonia Amyntas the king had been defeated by the Illyrians and had relinquished his authority; he had furthermore made a grant to the people of the Olynthians of a large part of the borderland because of his abandonment of political power. At first the people of the Olynthians enjoyed the revenues from the land given them, and when later the king unexpectedly recovered strength and got back his entire kingdom, the Olynthians were not inclined to return the land when he asked for it. Consequently Amyntas gathered an army from his own people, and forming an alliance with the Lacedaemonians persuaded them

<sup>1</sup> The Anticipation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So Unger: σκευασάμενοι.

τηγον καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους. οί δε Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρίναντες αντέχεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης τόπων, κατέλεξαν στρατιώτας έκ τε τῶν πολιτών καὶ παρὰ τών συμμάχων τοὺς ἄπαντας ύπερ μυρίους παραδόντες δε την δύναμιν Φοιβίδα τῷ Σπαρτιάτη προσέταξαν συμμαχεῖν τῷ ᾿Αμύντα καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου πολεμήσαι τοὺς 'Ολυνθίους. έτέραν δε δύναμιν επί Φλιουντίους εκπέμψαντες καὶ μάχη νικήσαντες ήνάγκασαν ύποταγηναι τούς

Φλιουντίους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.

Κατά δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διεφέροντο πρός άλλήλους ταις αίρέσεσιν 'Αγησίπολις μέν γάρ, είρηνικός ών καί δίκαιος. ἔτι δέ καὶ συνέσει διαφέρων, ἔφη δεῖν έμμένειν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ παρὰ τὰς κοινὰς συνθήκας μὴ καταδουλοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἀδοξεῖν γὰρ άπεφήνατο την Σπάρτην τοῖς μέν Πέρσαις ἐκδότους πεποιημένην τούς κατά την 'Ασίαν "Ελληνας, αὐτὴν δὲ συσκευαζομένην τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις, εν ταις κοιναις συνθήκαις δμόσασαν τηρήσειν αὐτονόμους. ὁ δ' Αγησίλαος, ὢν φύσει δραστικός, φιλοπόλεμος ην καὶ της των Ελλήνων δυναστείας άντείχετο.

<sup>1</sup> μή καταδουλοῦσθαι after συνθήκαις deleted by Wesseling. <sup>2</sup> So Scaliger, Reiske: ωμοσαν.

to send out a general and a strong force against the <sup>383</sup> B.C. Olynthians. The Lacedaemonians, having decided to extend their control to the regions about Thrace, enrolled soldiers both from their citizens and from their allies, more than ten thousand in all; the army they turned over to Phoebidas the Spartan with orders to join forces with Amyntas and to make war together with him upon the Olynthians. They also sent out another army against the people of Phlius, defeated them in battle, and compelled them to accept the rule of the Lacedaemonians.

At this time the kings of the Lacedaemonians were at variance with each other on matters of policy. Agesipolis, who was a peaceful and just man and, furthermore, excelled in wisdom, declared that they should abide by their oaths and not enslave the Greeks contrary to the common agreements. He pointed out that Sparta was in ill repute for having surrendered the Greeks of Asia to the Persians and for organizing the cities of Greece in her own interst, although she had sworn in the common agreement that she would preserve their autonomy. But Agesilaüs, who was by nature a man of action, was fond of war and yearned for dominance over the Greeks.



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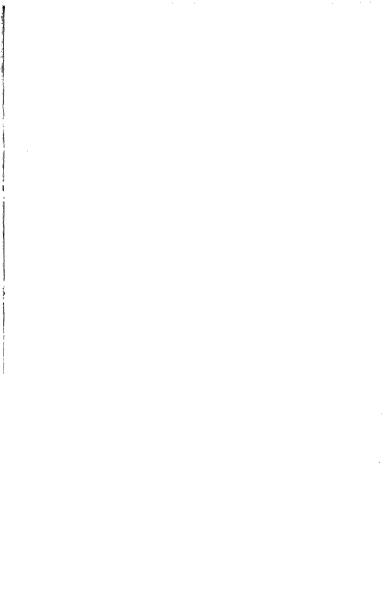
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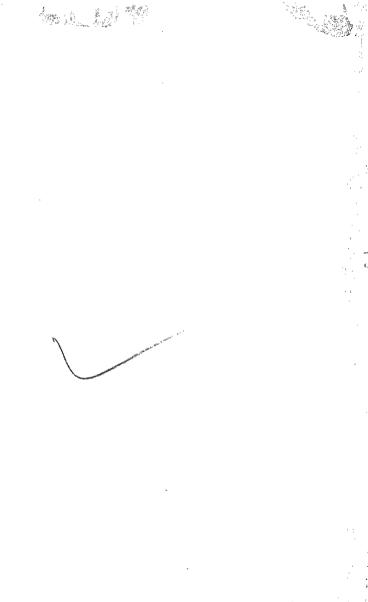
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